The China Weekly REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established in 1917

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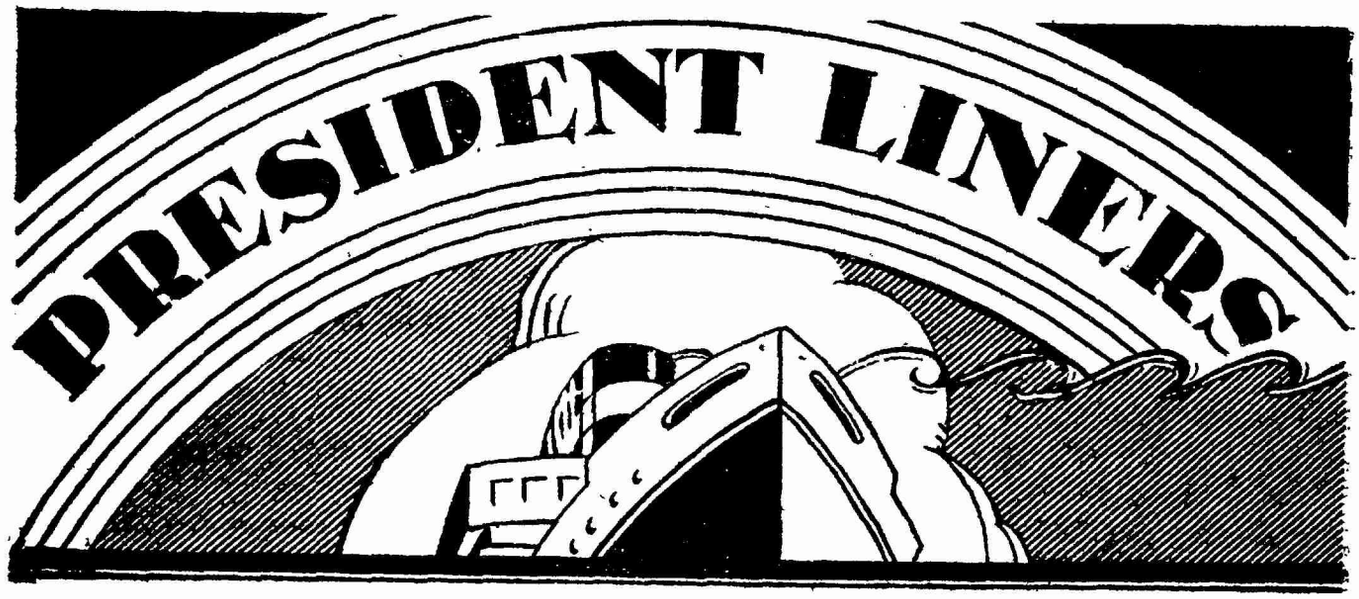

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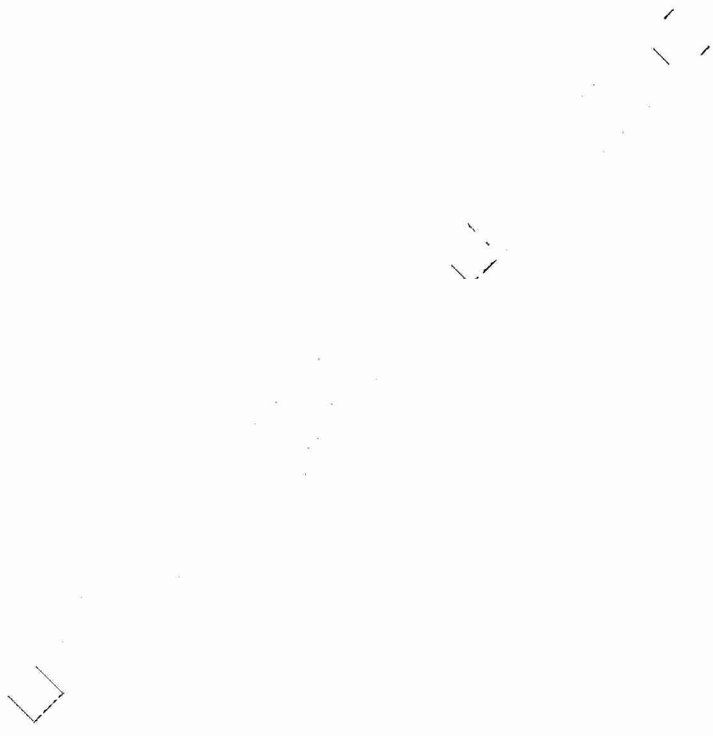

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND THE FAR EASTERN WAR SITUATION

RECENTLY there appeared in these columns a reference to an address delivered by a woman speaker before the women's club in an Iowa city wherein she declared she had been warned by her friends to remain in the middle-west due to the imminence of an outbreak of war between Japan and the United States. She declared it would be unsafe to remain on the U. S. Pacific coast after hostilities began.

Directly opposed to this exhibition of fright as displayed by the well-meaning Iowa lady, was a brief dispatch telegraphed to the Far East by *Reuters* correspondent at Washington who quoted a report in the *New York Times* to the effect that important paper "had not yet found one responsible person in Washington who is contemplating the possibility of war between the United States and Japan, even in the distant future."

One wonders if these two reports, one expressing anxiety regarding an imminent outbreak of war and the other pooh-poohing any possibility of war, even in the distant future, do not constitute a fairly accurate cross-section of current American thought regarding present conditions in the Far East. In this connection an important factor must not be overlooked—the conflicting propagandas of the opposing Oriental principals—which is now prevalent throughout the United States. Recently one issue of a San Francisco newspaper contained references to four different addresses which had been delivered the previous day in as many California cities and all of the addresses dealt with the crisis in the Orient. One speaker was a titled Englishman, formerly an adviser to the Chinese government, another speaker was an American who allegedly had been on the payroll of both China and Japan. The other speakers were Chinese and Japanese, hence presumably were expressing their genuine nationalistic feelings. The situation is reminiscent of conditions that prevailed in the United States prior to America's entrance in the World War when the country was filled with lecturers and propagandists who were "advising" the Americans on their future conduct in respect to the conflict in Europe.

It is this situation which faces the new President of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who is scheduled to assume office on March 4. With the exception of Woodrow Wilson who

assumed office at the beginning of the European conflagration, no American president has started his term of office with more unsolved problems awaiting settlement. The only essential difference from the standpoint of the actual conflicts is that on the present occasion the world was somewhat prepared with machinery for such a contingency. Prior to the European conflict the world still depended upon ordinary diplomatic methods, whereas now and as a direct result of the lessons learned in the European conflict, the forward-looking nations had taken preliminary steps for the solutions of such problems by peaceful means. The League Covenant, the Nine-Power Treaty and the Kellogg anti-War Pact were born out of the bitter lessons learned in the World War. Curiously, the United States of America had taken the lead in the initiation of all three of these methods of peaceful adjustment of international differences, but while initiating them, the American Government had for various and sufficient reasons refused co-operation with the League, possibly the most important of the three schemes. Now, in the face of an impending crisis in the Orient with imminent possibilities of another international war, there appears to be an increasing tendency toward American co-operation with the League as an alternative to an outright military clash with Japan. And since it was a Democratic administration in Washington that initiated the League idea, it is not impossible that another Democratic administration may be the vehicle for bringing about American adherence to Geneva as a regular member.

The leaders of the new Democratic administration have made it reasonably clear as to the course they intend to pursue. On Jan. 18 President-elect Roosevelt issued a declaration to the following effect, "Any statement relating to any particular foreign situation must, of course, come from the Secretary of State of the United States. I am however, wholly willing to make it clear that American foreign policy must uphold the sanctity of international treaties. That is the cornerstone on which all relations between nations must rest." This declaration indicating the intention of the new administration to continue the general features of the Far Eastern policy of the United States as laid down by the preceding administration was made by President Roosevelt following a conference he had held with Col. Stimson, Secretary of State. When this statement was issued (Jan. 18) the name of the new Secretary of State had not been announced, but the announcement of the name of the new secretary, Senator Cordell Hull, was quickly followed by further and more definite statements to the effect there would be no essential change in American policy. The announcement of the action of the League Assembly on the Manchurian issue last week was quickly followed by a conference between Senator Hull and the retiring Secretary of State, Col. Stimson and this was followed up with Col. Stimson's note to the League announcing complete agreement with the League's action. Senator Hull then confirmed the continuity of American policy by issuing a further declaration (*United Press* report, February 25) wherein he stated, "There should be no laxity on the part of this or any other nation in the matter of observance of both the letter and spirit of treaties and international good faith."

Although several of the leaders of the Democratic party have declared that any talk of America's joining the League is premature, it is a fact nevertheless that the Democrats are likely to be more friendly to that organization than has been the case with the Republican party. There are several potent reasons for this situation, the first being the obvious one, that the League idea was originated by Woodrow Wilson, America's wartime president, who was the leader of the Democratic party. A further reason why the forthcoming administration is likely to lean more toward the League is due to the disinclination of the party as a party to adopt any strong course likely to lead to war. Realizing the dangers involved in the present crisis which have been created by a war-mad military party in Japan, the leaders of the new administration will take all possible measures to avoid a clash, and this naturally will cause America to co-operate more with the League as an alternative to war. Whether co-operation with the League will prevent a war, particularly in view of the present agitation favoring arms and economic boycotts of Japan, remains to be seen, but as stated the inclination of the new administration will be to avoid any possible action likely to excite the Japanese warlords to further madness.

Another and possibly the most important reason for disinclination of the new administration to make any radical moves in foreign affairs is the necessity for solving domestic problems. Acting on the proposition that the first duty of the Government will be to relieve distress at home, the chances are that the new administration will concentrate its undivided attention on these problems to the exclusion of foreign matters excepting such as the war debt issue which have a direct bearing on domestic problems.

NEW PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS IN THE FAR EAST

MENTION in the news reports of the name of Robert Bingham, prominent newspaper publisher of Louisville, Ky., as the probable Roosevelt appointee as Ambassador to Great Britain, has served to call attention to the fact that the new Democratic President will have the privilege and responsibility of appointing more new officials to the Far East than has been the fortune of other American chief executives in recent years. This is due to the fact that the terms of several prominent American officials in the Far East, including the officials of the U. S. Court for China, will expire early in the Roosevelt administration. Judge Milton D. Purdy, whose administration of the American court in Shanghai has brought universal satisfaction, was appointed by President Harding in 1924. Since the appointment is for ten years, this means that Judge Purdy's term will expire early next year. Judge Purdy's friends have been hoping that since he is classed politically as a progressive Republican, the new administration may see its way clear to re-appoint him to this important post. Of the other officials of the Court, including the district attorney, clerk, marshal, court commissioner and assistants, all hold office at the pleasure of the president, hence they may be re-appointed or supplanted by new officials. Dr. George Sellett, dis-

trict attorney, is reported to have made plans for resuming the private practice of law in Shanghai.

Another important American post in Shanghai which definitely will become vacant shortly following Mr. Roosevelt's assumption of office is that of the American consul-general, a post which has been held for many years by Edwin S. Cunningham. According to an interview which appeared in the *Shanghai Times* on Feb. 11, Mr. Cunningham announced his intention of retiring, having completed thirty-five years of service in the consular department. Mr. Cunningham who was born on a farm near Knoxville, Tenn, entered the service as consul at Aden, Arabia in February, 1898. After a period there he served at similar posts in Norway, South Africa, India, Straits Settlements and then to China where he served at both Hongkong and Hankow prior to his appointment here in 1919. In the fourteen years which have elapsed since Mr. Cunningham's arrival here he has seen the city progress from a more or less primitive port of ramshackle buildings and muddy streets to a modern metropolis. Since Mr. Cunningham comes from the state of Tennessee, the home of the new Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, it has been rumored he may be promoted to a ministership despite the fact he has served the requisite period for legal retirement on pension. Since the post of consul-general at Shanghai is under the civil service, the successor to Mr. Cunningham will have to be appointed from the service. Several names, including consuls-general now in service in China have been mentioned for the post. Mr. Cunningham's term expires in July of this year, and according to report he may decide to reside here permanently.

Shortly following Mr. Roosevelt's election, he announced that he would as far as possible follow the practice of continuing all "career" diplomats in office. Since Nelson T. Johnson, the present American Minister, is a career-man, having been advanced through the various ranks from vice-consul to the ministership to China, there is a possibility he may be continued in office. Prior to his appointment to this post Mr. Johnson was chief of the division of Far Eastern Affairs in the department, but before that he had served as consul-general at large. Mr. Johnson entered the service as student interpreter at Peiping in 1907. In 1921 he served as expert attached to the American delegation to the Washington Arms Conference and in 1928 was an American delegate to the civil aeronautical conference in Washington.

Thus far only one name has been mentioned as a possible successor to Mr. Johnson, that of Dr. Walter Williams, president of the University of Missouri. But while Dr. Williams has been urged by his friends to seek the appointment, he has not as yet indicated whether he would accept the post if proffered. A report in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* on Jan. 29 stated that Dr. Williams was being urged by his friends to seek the post and it was stated that should he desire the appointment he would have the unanimous support of the Missouri delegation in both houses of Congress. Representative Clarence Cannon, Democrat of the Ninth Missouri congressional district, in the course of an interview, stated he had received numerous letters from supporters of Dr. Williams, all of the writers being members of Congress, hence he hoped that Dr. Williams would formally state his intentions so his name could be formally presented to President Roosevelt. Dr. Williams has visited in China on several occasions and has many former students, both Chinese and Americans, who are now residents of China. Representative Cannon in the interview stated that he had received no intimation on the subject of the appointment from Dr. Williams and in consequence he did not regard the university president as an active candidate for the position.

Aside from the appointments to China, President Roosevelt will have two other high posts to fill in the Far East, the Ambassadorship to Tokyo and the Governor-Generalship of the Philippines. The present Ambassador to Japan, Joseph G. Grew, is a career member of the State Department, while Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. Governor-General of the Philippines is a second cousin of the President-elect. However, since Theodore Roosevelt delivered a radio address at Manila which was broadcasted to the United States, wherein he opposed the election of his illustrious cousin to the presidency, it's a foregone conclusion he will not be continued in office long after March 4. What the new President will do about the other posts remains to be seen, but that the American communities in the Far East are in a state of high-expectancy goes without saying.

S. A. REVOLUTIONS, EXTRALITY AND SHANGHAI GAMBLERS

IT'S a long way from a revolution on the west coast of South America to an alleged gambling "club" in the Shanghai International Settlement, but there appears to be some connection. The settlement police report for last week told of nineteen raids on gambling haunts, most of them catering to poorer classes of the population, which resulted in some 150 arrests. But nothing was said in the report regarding two more pretentious establishments, one on Hart road and the other on Bubbling Well, which recently were opened under the alleged exterritorial protection of a west coast South American consul whose status is not entirely clear due to revolutionary changes which have recently taken place in his home country. According to report the two institutions are most elaborate in fittings, the most prominent feature being the national flags and insignia of the nation whose consul in Shanghai is allegedly granting protection. Also, it is reported that the same consular official has been engaged in an old and oft-discredited Shanghai custom of issuing passports to Chinese and Russian emigrees, said passports attesting that they are citizens of the country to which the consul claims allegience. That these alleged practices are likely to lead to serious complications is evidenced in the fact that a somewhat similar incident in 1925 caused the Chinese Government to take action not only completely discrediting the consul but also to issue a declaration showing conclusively that the country to which the consul was accredited actually did not possess exterritorial rights in China. In the incident in 1925 it was brought out that the consul had, for a remuneration, issued a number of passports and citizenship certificates and also had granted con-

sular protection to various opium-smoking and merchandising shops in the Settlement. When the facts were disclosed the offending consular official departed from Shanghai between suns, but only to turn up a short time later in Harbin where he continued to victimize Russian emigrees who thought they were being granted citizenship and consular protection which would give them immunity from the Chinese regulations. An interesting element in the present situation is the apparent tendency of the gambling fraternity to transfer their activities from the local French Concession to the International Settlement. Up to about a year ago, most of the illicit joints of this character were located in the French Concession, but finally when the situation was brought to the attention of the home French authorities a clean-up was conducted, since which time all gambling allegedly has been barred from the French administered area.

IS RED MENACE MORE SERIOUS IN JAPAN THAN IN CHINA?

THE Japanese spokesmen at Geneva and elsewhere apparently never have heard of the old adage about sweeping off your own doorstep before criticising you neighbor's, otherwise they would not be saying so much about the so-called communist menace in China. A perusal of guarded reports which recently have appeared in the Japanese newspapers inclines one to the belief that the communist menace in the Far East is not confined to China—that it probably is more serious in Japan even than it is in the Chinese republic despite the fact that the Reds on this side of the Yellow Sea are organized into armies. In Japan the communists do not possess military strength but they do seem to be all over the map, including a considerable number in the new puppet state of Manchukuo. A recent issue of the *Osaka Mainichi* told of the "third extensive round-up of Japanese communists in Manchukuo....which resulted in scores of radicals being arrested and the seizing of large quantities of documents." The dispatch, which was dated Hsinking (Changchun) Feb. 20 stated three raids had been conducted since Jan. 25 at Mukden, Dairen and Fushun. Continuing it said that the Dairen branch of the Japanese communist party had been established shortly prior to the adventure of the Japanese army at Mukden in the fall of 1931 and as a result of their propaganda serious discontent had been created among the workers on the South Manchuria Railway, the Fushun colliery and other industrial organizations. The object of the Japanese red group in Manchukuo was to overturn the existing order and establish a communist dictatorship in the puppet state.

A further report in the *Japan Advertiser* on Feb. 18 stated that despite the nation-wide round-up of reds in Japan last year, the situation continues serious and arrests of communists throughout the country continues. A communist newspaper, the Aka Hata or Red Flag is still being published and distributed despite police prohibition. Among those recently arrested was Miss Asano Karita, a 28-year old daughter of a wealthy merchant, who confessed she was a leader of the communist movement. According to the police report Miss Karita had raised more than Yen 16,000 in recent months among the students of Tokyo and that she had a staff of fifteen men and women working for her. The report stated that some forty primary school teachers also had been arrested in Nagano prefecture as communist suspects and more arrests were expected to follow. As a result of disclosures in connection with the arrest of three other suspects the police claimed they had discovered a plot to destroy the Bank of Japan. A confession by one of these men resulted in the arrest later of 115 more reds. It was stated that the communist newspaper in Japan had been widely distributed among the workers in factories, government offices, private universities and among young farmers in the rural districts.

A recent report in Imprecor, the communist organ published in Germany, from its correspondent in Japan claimed that fifty-eight communist leaders in Japan had been murdered in prison in the past four years, the latest victim being a man named Ueda, allegedly one of the founders of the party. He was originally arrested in 1923 but was released after a time on bail, only to be re-arrested and according to the report recently was murdered in jail. Another red leader alleged murdered in jail recently was named Iwata, his execution taking place on Nov. 3. This report alleged that in the trial of communists on Oct. 29 of last year four leaders were sentenced to prison for life and 477 others received a total of 776 years of imprisonment. It was alleged that more than 4,000 alleged communists were arrested in Tokyo city alone. It was stated that the objective of the red leaders in Japan was to convert the present Japanese war in Manchuria into a civil war in Japan.

A LONELY EX-NAVAL MAN WHO PINES FOR HIS SHANGHAI SWEETHEART

THE *Review* last week received a pathetic letter from a former U. S. Navy man ("gob" in common parlance) who had seen service in the Far East. Somewhat over a year ago he was paid off from one of the U.S. naval vessels which had been on the Shanghai station for several years. He invested his savings in a little farm out in the dry-farming country of the great open spaces of America, where men are men. But with the depression that has hit the United States in common with the rest of the world, he finds himself not only hard up financially but exceedingly lonely. He dreams of Shanghai, and particularly of a certain young Russian girl whom he got to know here. Unfortunately he does not know her family name, only her given name, and besides she knows only a few words of English. Could we give him a hint as to how he could get a job of some kind here?—he would be willing to "do anything"—and could we look up Sonia (that was not the name he gave) at an address in Frenchtown which he furnished and tell her that he would like to have her photograph? He mentioned in his letter that his request might appear "crazy," but he felt so lonely out there on the farm by himself that he felt he would go crazy unless things improved for him. As this man's state of mind is probably typical of many others who have been out on this naval station, the incident is related here for general information. Enquiry at the address revealed that the present occupants knew nothing of Sonia.

This sailor boy said in his letter that she was "different" from other Shanghai Russian girls. So we were constrained to write this ex-naval man that he had better forget Sonia and also give up the idea of coming back to Shanghai to "do anything," as there are thousands of Russians here competing with Chinese doing that very thing and are having a very hard time of it. We incidentally mentioned that several U.S. naval petty officers on this station who gave up their chance of putting in their full 16 years (after which they would draw a pension) are now sorry for it, as they find Shanghai a hard nut to crack in a business way. No doubt Shanghai with its bright lights and the pleasant hours spent with Sonia look very charming in retrospect to this ex-naval boy, but then his pay was coming in regularly from Uncle Sam. He would find it quite different if he tried to make his living here. Shanghai at present is no place for a man who is willing to "do anything."

LEAGUE ASSEMBLY UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTS RESOLUTION AGAINST JAPAN

THE Assembly of the League of Nations met at Geneva February 24, Mr. Hymans presiding, to vote on the Report of the Committee of Nineteen.

Dr. W. W. Yen, the Chief Chinese delegate, was the first speaker. He expressed relief and gratification that China's policy had been upheld and vindicated, and he congratulated the League for courageously delivering a verdict against one of its most important members for the most wanton aggression in the annals of human civilisation. The League had emerged a stronger and revitalised instrument. Consequently the Commission insisted less on responsibility for past actions than on means of avoiding their repetition. The Chinese delegate described the powers and functions usurped by Japan, who, he said, made the South Manchuria Railway an "imperium in imperio" in derogation of Chinese sovereignty and treaties. He added that he deeply appreciated the sympathy shown to China during her period of transition. He contrasted the willingness of China to settle her disputes with Japan as regards treaty interpretation by arbitration with Japan's refusal to accept her obligation under Article XII. He approved the arrangement that a declaration to determine the respective powers of the Chinese Central Government and the local authorities in Manchuria should only be made by the Chinese Government after an arrangement had been made for the evacuation of Japanese troops. Dr. Yen said he heartily welcomed the collaboration of the United States and Russia, and concluded by stating that China would vote for the Report, which she accepted without reserve. However, he said, if Japan did not accept it, the rights of China as a party complying with paragraph six of Article XV should remain wholly unaffected.

Speaking in strong, challenging tones which provided a marked contrast with the quiet note of Dr. Yen, Mr. Matsuoka said that the Japanese Government had carefully and seriously considered the report and with sad disappointment had concluded that it could not accept it. The Committee of Nineteen had failed to realise the situation in the Far East, Japan's position in the midst of unparalleled circumstances and the ultimate aim that was impelling Japanese action. For 20 years China had been passing through a revolution that had brought disaster to her people. Tens of millions had lost their lives as the result of warfare, tyranny, banditry, famine and flood and misery beyond the imagination of the average Westerner. China had long been derelict in international duty as a sovereign State and Japan had been the greatest sufferer from this. "Convinced that Japan will always be the mainstay of peace, order and progress in the Far East, she has taken a definite stand in Manchuria," continued the Japanese delegate. Mr. Matsuoka then dwelt on what he termed the superficial character of the Lytton Report. He asked whether America would agree to international control of the Panama Canal or Britain of the Suez Canal. He concluded his address by expressing the desire of Japan to co-operate with China to establish peace in East Asia. "I earnestly beg of you to deal with us on our terms," he said, "and give us your confidence. To deny us this appeal would be a mistake. I ask you not to adopt the report."

The vote was taken by roll call. Forty-two voted "Yes," Japan "No," while Siam abstained from voting. The remainder were absentees. M. Hymans said he hoped that the conciliation efforts would be accepted by both parties.

After this Mr. Matsuoka made a second statement. He expressed profound regret and disappointment at the adoption of the Report. Japan, he said, had participated in the drafting of the Covenant and had been proud to associate herself with the leading nations of the world for one of the grandest purposes in which humanity could unite. Mr. Matsuoka said he deeply deplored the present situation, as Japan's policy was fundamentally inspired to guarantee peace in the Far East and to help peace throughout the world. They had now reached the limit of their endeavors to co-operate with the League in regard to the differences between China and Japan, he added; but they would persist in their desire to co-operate in the work dedicated to world peace. At the end of Mr. Matsuoka's statement the Japanese delegation dramatically withdrew.

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Sensational reports were published in Nanking during the week that the real reason why Siam refrained from voting at the recent Assembly meeting in Geneva condemning Japan was that Japan had made a secret agreement with Siam that in case of an embargo, Siam after purchasing large quantities of ammunition and other war supplies, would ship them to Japan, thus avoiding detection. The Japanese papers were high in their praise of Siam's abstention from voting.

It is generally believed in Tokyo (according to *Rengo*) that Japan will probably announce her withdrawal from membership in the League of Nations in the middle of March. In view of the fact that the question of Japan's withdrawal from the League may cause important international repercussions, it will require a series of sub-committee meetings before final approval is given to the subject by the Privy Council, and observers are agreed that the official procedure for withdrawal from the League by Japan will not be taken before the middle of March.

The Fifteenth U. S. Infantry Regiment at Tientsin

THE *United Press* a few days ago sent a story from Washington quoting an unnamed member of President Hoover's cabinet as favoring the withdrawal of the Fifteenth Regiment of the United States Infantry from Tientsin. According to the report, the cabinet officer feared a clash that might lead to dangerous eventualities in the event trouble should develop between the Chinese and Japanese military forces in the Tientsin-Peiping dirtrict. Continuing, the telegram quoted officials of the War Department as stating they had sent instructions to Col. Reynolds J. Burt, commander of the regiment to exercise "extreme caution," but nothing was stated about the possible withdrawal of the force.

Col. Reynolds J. Burt, Commander of the American Regiment stationed in Tientsin. He is shown talking to Frank P. Lockhart, U. S. Consul-General at Tientsin who has jurisdiction over more territory than any other consular official in Asia. The ladies in the picture are Mrs. I. H. Ward (left) and Mrs. J. S. Taylor, wives of consular officials at Tientsin.

The U. S. Fifteenth Infantry Regiment, stationed at Tientsin has been referred to as America's "lost battallion" due to the long period it has been away from home. As a matter of fact this regiment, even though it did not see service in Europe during the World War, probably has had more foreign service than any other group in the U. S. standing army. The first mention of the regiment in American history was on May 27, 1813 when it took part in the capture of Fort George, Upper Canada. It was then part of a force of 7,000 men under General Dearborn who commanded the troops around Lake Ontario. The regiment next saw action on March 2, 1847 when it participated in the capture of Vera Cruz in the war with Mexico. After a march of 220 miles over the roughest type of country, it was one of the first to enter the gates of Mexico City, but losing in the action more than half of its effectives in killed and wounded. In 1862 the regiment was incorporated in the U. S. Regular Army and was stationed at Newport, Kentucky. During the American Civil War, 1860-1865, the Fifteenth participated in the important battles of Shiloh, Stone River, Murfreesboro, Chicamaugua, Missionary Ridge and Atlanta. After the war it did routine duty in Alabama, New Mexico, Dakota, Missouri and Colorado.

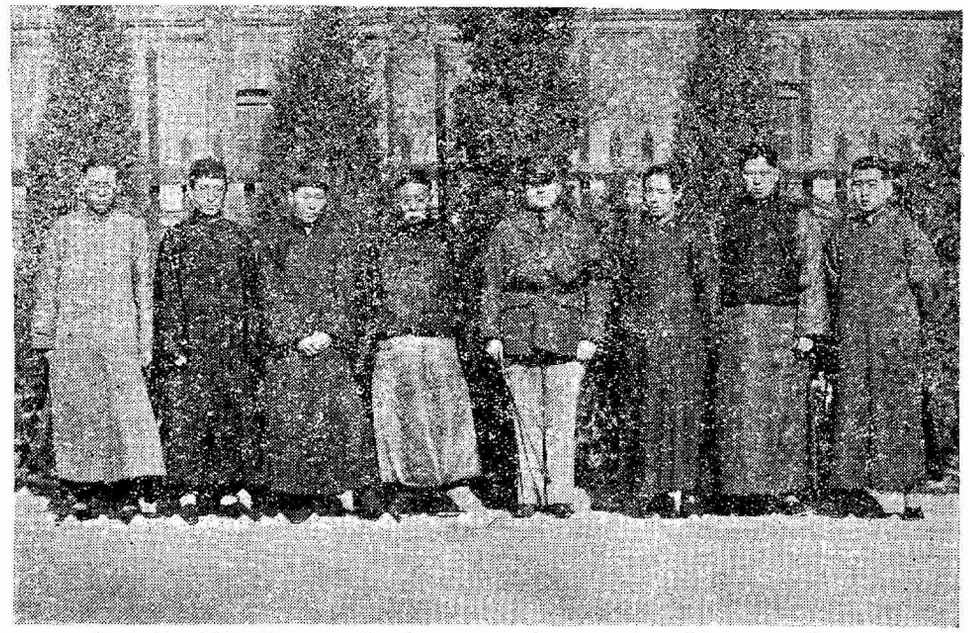
The regiment's next foreign experience began on November 23, 1899 when it was ordered to Savannah Ga., and a week later sailed for Cuba to participate in the freeing of that island from Spain in the Spanish-American war. After participating in the pacification of Cuba the regiment returned to the United States and was for a time stationed in New England. This was in the fall of 1899, but it did not remain inactive long for on July 7, 1900 it received orders to prepare for a long journey over the sea.

This time the trip was to China for the Boxer rebellion had broken out and American lives were in danger in north China. The first battalion, headquarters staff and band sailed from San Francisco on July 16 and arrived Taku bar (Tientsin) on August 16, 1900. However, the regiment had arrived too late to participate in the actual fighting at Tientsin or the famous march to Peking to relieve the besieged Legations. The U. S. Ninth Infantry, which had preceded the Fifteenth to Tientsin, had come directly from the Philippines and in the fighting at Tiensin had lost 100 men and its Commander-in-Chief, Col. Emerson H. Liscum, who was shot dead by a Boxer bullet on the outskirts of Tientsin on July 13. However, the Fifteenth found plenty to do in policing the Tientsin area, but its activities were short for on December 13 it was ordered to Manila where it saw service through 1901 and 1902, the latter year being ordered back to San Francisco.

On November 6, 1905 orders were received to prepare for another sea trip and back the regiment went to the Philippines. However, it was again ordered to travel and in 1906 the officers and men returned to American soil, being stationed at Fort Douglas, Utah where it remained until 1911. Late that year orders again were received

to proceed to Manila where quarters were established at Fort McKinley. Then on January 11, 1912 orders came to proceed to Tientsin and since the arrival of the Fifteenth in that city twenty-one years ago the Regiment has neither changed camp nor participated in an engagement, a most unique record.

The duties of this overseas American forces, the only force of regular troops stationed on foreign soil anywhere in the world, are more or less clearly defined in an international compact known as the Bower Protocol. Along with the forces of Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan, the U. S. Fifteenth is obligated to keep the railway open between Peiping and the sea at Tangku and Chinwantao. With the exception of a small force consisting of some fifteen men and a lieutenant (Lieut. Dennis M. Moore) stationed at Chinwantao where they guard American military stores, the regiment is quartered in permanent barracks in the former German concession at Tientsin. The section of the Peiping-Mukden railway which receives this protection of an international military force is some 150 miles in length. The regiment has nothing to do with the actual protection of the American Legation at Peiping for that duty has been turned over to a small force of some 500 Marines. Before the World War the Germans, Austrians and Russians also had garrisons established in their respective concessions at Tientsin.



Capt. David D. Barrett, Intelligence Officer of the 15th U. S. Infantry at Tientsin, and the staff of Chinese teachers who instruct the officers of the regiment in the mysteries of the Chinese spoken and written language. According to the regulations all officers must study Chinese and regular examinations are given.

American troopers, members of the Fifteenth Regiment at Tientsin, conducting civilians through the lines.

The present strength of the Fifteenth is 706 officers and men. The other Powers which maintain troops in Tientsin or along the railway are Britain with 790 officers and men, France with 1,690 officers and men, Japan with 1,567 officers and men and Italy with 329 officers and men. The action of the Chinese National Government in 1927 in removing the capital from Peiping to Nanking has created considerable confusion regarding the legal status of the so-called Boxer protocol, but owing to the fact that most of the foreign ministers still maintain their residences in the Legation Quarter at Peiping, the compact is still regarded as having effect. The number of American residents in the Tientsin consular district, presided over by Frank P. Lockhart, Consul-General, is 1,412, of which number some 590 reside in Tientsin, and 640 in Peiping. The remainder chiefly are engaged in missionary enterprises in the outlying districts of Hopei, northern Honan, Shansi, Jehol, Charhar, Ninghsia, Suiyuan and Mongolia.

Up to about 1922 the appropriations for the upkeep of the Fifteenth Infantry Regiment had been included in the congressional appropriations for the American forces in the Philippines, but that year the system was changed and the appropriations for the support of the 15th were included in the regular army appropriation billl. Shortly after the inauguration of the late President Harding, an agitation was raised in Congress, somewhat like the present one, for the withdrawal of the American forces from Tientsin, but nothing came of it. In 1927 when the nations became excited about the Nationalist movement which swept northward from Canton, President Coolidge ordered a considerable force of Marines to China and some were quartered in Tientsin for a time. This led to the impression that the Fifteenth Regiment of regular troops would not be used for the actual protection of American citizens in the northern district, but would be restricted to its treaty-status of keeping the railway open.

At any rate the Regiment is still stationed in Tientsin and in many respects has become a

part of the community, many of the officers and men having re-enlisted for several periods and in a sense having become local citizens. Many of the men, following completion of their period of enlistment, have remained in the Far East and engaged in professional and commercial pursuits. The sudden withdrawal of the regiment from Tientsin would produce a serious commotion in numerous places, not the least commotion being in Chinese commercial circles where the officers and men of the Fifteenth are regarded as "good customers" due to the expenditure of their gold salaries in that city. The Chinese naturally resent the presence of foreign troops on their soil and doubtless would be happy to see all of these foreign troops return to their home lands. However, it probably is equally true that China would not like to see the American troops withdrawn exclusively and the others remain, particularly the Japanese, at this particular time. It is therefore likely that the Fifteenth will continue at Tientsin until an entirely new deal all around has been arranged in the relations of China and the Powers when all foreign forces, including the Japanese, will be withdrawn and China's sovereignty completely re-established. The fact that the Fifteenth in a period of more than two decades has not changed its quarters or participated in a single engagement, constitutes the best possible proof of the friendly relations which have existed between the regiment and the local population.

In many respects the regiment constitutes a sort of training school, particularly for the officers, for the regulations require them to become proficient in the Chinese language. Many of the officers, upon completion of their services, have been assigned to special duty in Washington due to their knowledge of conditions in the Far East. There they have served as advisers to the Chief of Staff, Secretary of War and the President. The present officers of the Fifteenth, together with the states from which they were originally appointed are as follows:

Commander, Col. Reynolds J. Burt of Nebraska. Lieutenant Colonels, Karl Truesdell, Minnesota and John T. Aydelotte, Maryland.

Majors, Walton H. Walker, Texas; Charles W. Ryder, Kansas; Harold V. Raycroft, New York; William L. Fisher (Chaplain), Missouri; Oscar T. Kirksey, Texas; Charles P. Benney, Nebraska and Joseph F. Crosby, New York.

Captains, Charles L. Bolte, Illinois; Paul E. Leiber, New York; Richard T. Edwards, born in England; Gustav J. Braun, New York; Don F. Pratt, Missouri; Joseph L. Ready, Massachusetts; Everett L. Rice, Virginia; William A. Collier, born in England; Ingomar M. Oseth, Minnesota; Tobin C. Rote, Texas; Raymond C. Hamilton, Illinois; Franklin P. Shaw, Kentucky; Henry T. Dent, Pennsylvania; Voler V. Viles, Missouri; Leonard H. Sims, Tennessee; Robert L. Bacon, Ohio; Egbert F. Bullene, California; David D. Barrett (Intelligence officer), Colorado; John R. Deane, California and William J. Kunzmann, Michigan.

First Lieutenants, Carroll K. Leeper, Wyoming; Richard C. Babbitt, Oregon; Frederick Pearson; Missouri; Edwin W. Sutherland, Pennsylvania; Josiah T. Dalbey, Alabama; Harry D. McHugh, Wisconsin; Charles H. Royce, Indiana; Dennis M. Moore (Commander of contingent at Chinwantao), Texas; William A. D. Woolgar, Michigan; Wayne C. Smith, Missouri; John R. Jeter, South Carolina and Rothwell H. Brown, District of Columbia.

Second Lieutenants, Dudley G. Strickler, Indiana; Joseph G. Felber, New York; Madison C. Schepps, New York; Carl F. Fritzsche, Ohio; Eugene T. Lewis, Texas; Edgar T. Conley, Jr., born in Philippines and Randolph B. Hubard, Pennsylvania.

Jehol and the Critical International Situation

ELSEWHERE in this week's issue of *Teh Review* appears an article entitled, "Manchuria—a Warning to America," which was written by Nathaniel Peffer and appeared originally in *Harpers Magazine*. We hope our readers will peruse it carefully because, in our opinion, it seems to be the most sensible statement of the Far Eastern situation which has yet appeared. Mr. Peffer spent several years of study in the Far East and has continued a student of the situation since his return to the United States. After pointing out the dangers involved in a drifting policy based on the so-called Hoover-Stimson doctrine of non-recognition of territory acquired in violation of treaties and calling attention to the fact that such policies once adopted seldom are countermanded, Mr. Peffer declares there is only one way cut for the United States and the other Western powers and that is a completely new deal with respect to their so-called special interests in China.

It requires no elaboration to acquaint occidental residents of the Far East with the fact that Japan's present campaign has two definite objectives, the conquest and control of China and the elimination of Western interests and influence from Asia. Anyone who observed the Japanese campaign of military terrorism at Shanghai last year, or who has read the voluminous writings of Japan's chief war-lord, Gen. Araki, must realize the correctness of this statement. The Japanese are determined to drive the occidentals out of Asia and at the same time bring China's resources of men and materials under her Sway. When that goal has been accomplished Japan will automatically become the spokesman of Asia in the world's councils and at the same time will be in a position of complete equality with the nations of the West from every possible point of view. More, Japan will not have merely achieved a position of equality; she will have acquired a position of superiority with respect to most nations with the possible exceptions of Russia and the United States. Anyone who questions the accuracy of this statement should read Gen. Araki's sneering reference to the "decadent" nations of Europe which is referred to in an article by *The Review's* Tokyo correspondent elsewhere in this issue. The Japanese military leaders who now enjoy dictatorial power in their own country are firmly convinced that no single nation or group of nations has the power to stop them. They believe they have the military strength to completely overrun and subjugate China and when that has been accomplished they then will be in a position to lay down the terms for a new deal in the Orient and that new deal will not be to the liking of either China or the West. But with their military machine unimpaired and with the man-power and resources of Asia at their disposal, the West will have no alternative but to accept peace on Japan's terms. That is the goal for which Japan

is fighting with the full resources of her empire and there is no use side-stepping the issue.

As Mr. Peffer points out in the concluding paragraphs of his article there is only one obvious way to meet this issue and that is for America and the other Western powers to declare a new deal with respect to China—a deal which would give the Chinese people a real charter of liberty from foreign control and thereby hearten them in their struggle against Japanese imperialism. Up to the present the Powers, acting through the League, have generally supported China and opposed Japan, but their actions have not rung true. Everybody is telling China to defend herself against the Japanese military menace, but all continue to hang on to their so-called "special" rights and concessions—which causes all intelligent Chinese to doubt the sincerity of Western spokesmen and worse makes most difficult for the nation to defend itself against the foreign foe. As Mr. Peffer states, this relinquishment would be a painful process, but in the long run probably not less painful than other alternatives which may be forced upon the said Western interests in the event of a complete Japanese victory. If Japan is able to accomplish her present objective, the Western nations possessing so-called vested treaty interests in Chinese will be forced to give them up anyway—not to China, but to Japan—just as the British have been compelled to do with the northern end of the Peiping-Mukden railway; hence as the lesser of two evils it would be far better for the Powers to get together immediately and announce in definite terms their new deal with respect to China. Not in indefinite, dilly-dallying diplomatic terms such as they have used in the past, but in clear unmistakable language backed up by immediate action to accomplish the desired result. Such an action on the part of the Western Powers would at once take the wind out of Japan's sails for it would destroy once and for all the potent Japanese propaganda that she really is trying to "save" China from occidental control. And in this suggestion, we include Soviet Russia, a nation more interested than any in the present Manchurian conflict. Japan continues to declare her real objective in Manchuria is the erection of a buffer state against communism in Asia. Russia, although professing the highest of ideals in her relations with China, nevertheless did not hesitate to use force in 1929 in the re-establishment of her control of the Chinese-Eastern Railway in north Manchuria. Also, the Russians or at least an influential group of them, have expended vast sums of money and effort in the attempt to convert China to the doctrines of communism. In this general right-about-face on the part of the Powers with respect to a new deal for the Chinese Republic, the Russians obviously would have to be included, for they cannot side-step the charge of imperialism in Asia any more than can the Americans or the Europeans.

Coming down to the present crisis occasioned by the Japanese invasion of Jehol province, it is difficult to imagine a more critical and dangerous situation considered either from the standpoint of the Far East or the world generally. Japan has been condemned, called a low criminal, by forty-one so-called civilized states. And Japan is just that, when regarded in the light of post-war attitudes of peoples as exemplified in the various treaties conceived with the object of preventing this sort of situation. But while Japan has been condemned in an international court, the criminal is still at large and worse is bent on doing as much damage as possible. Just now the chief victim is China and China will continue to be the chief victim until (or if) the Japanese have cleaned up Jehol province. Then, if the Chinese continue their resistance program as they apparently intend to do at the Great Wall, the situation will automatically change and China will have partners in misery, the chief one being Great Britain whose nationals control the section of the Peiping-Mukden railway from the Great Wall southward, the important Kailan Mining Administration at Chinwantao and other important interests at Tientsin. It isn't necessary to state that the British-controlled, but Sino-British owned Kailan Mining Administration, is the principal rival of the leading Japanese coal enterprise on the con-

Gen. Yu Hsueh-chung, Chairman of Hopei Province and Commander of the Chinese Government troops in the Tientsin-Taku Sector. Owing to the present Sino-Japanese crisis, the position of Gen. Yu is of tremendous importance.

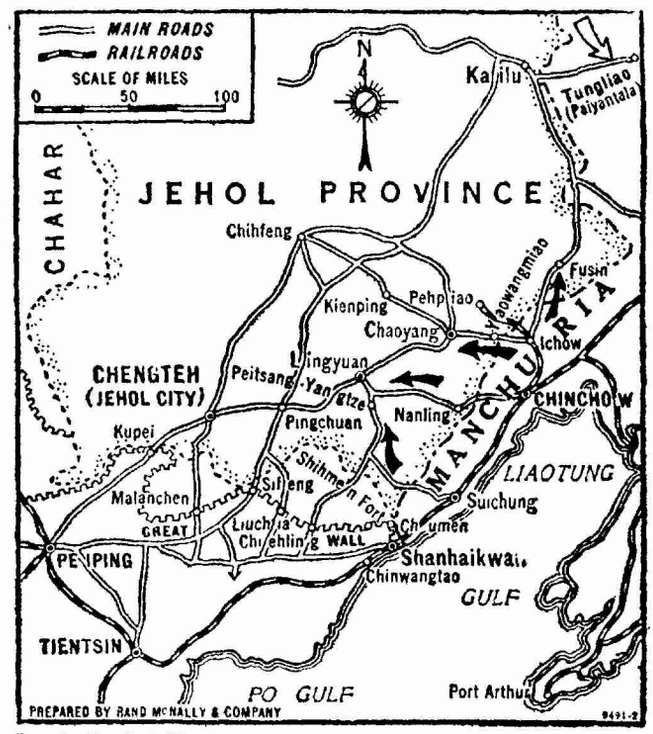
tinent, the Fushun collieries near Mukden. These interests are rivals and since the boycott of Japanese products began following the Japanese occupation of Mukden the Kailan mining interests have enjoyed an advantage. Japanese naturally have no love for Kailan, in fact have had no love for Kailan since the young American mining engineer, Herbert Hoover assisted the British and certain Chinese in 1900 in putting the property under the British flag and thus preventing the Japanese from grabbing it. Aside from the Japanese desire to control Chinese territory and people, they have an equally keen desire to control the essential resources of the continent. When the Japanese military machine begins moving south of the Tahsih river a short distance north of Chinwantao, that will mean Japanese military penetration into the British zone of the Kailan Mining Administration and it requires no imagination to picture what that will mean. If Kailan mining shares have not begun to slump on the London market, they shortly will begin to drop, for Japanese military occupation of this district will paralyze Kailan. In the first place, the thousands of Chinese employes of the company will flee and that will paralyse the works, and while the company claims to have sufficient stocks above ground for two years, Japanese military domination of the area will paralyze the operations for an indefinite period.

Air Attack

—Knott in the Dallas "News."

It is this Japanese threat at Kailan which probably has been responsible for the grotesque statements and curious diplomatic manouverings of Sir John Simon, British Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Several weeks ago he delivered a pro-Japanese speech at Geneva and then there was the recent semi-official Japanese *Rengo* report from Tokyo alleging the British Ambassador in Tokyo had told the Japanese that Britain would offer no objection in the event the Japanese confined their military activities to Jehol. When this Japanese report was cabled back to London, Sir John Simon promptly denied he had given such instructions to the British Ambassador in Tokyo. But now, in the face of the British denial comes the *United Press* report (Feb. 28) from London quoting Sir John Simon as declaring in the House of Commons that the action of the Japanese army in Manchuria and Jehol "does not in the last resemble an invasion by a foreign force into another country." He then repeated the old bunk about "anti-foreignism in China and the lengths to which China had carried the boycott, had created a situation of the greatest possible delicacy." One wonders just what type of diplomatic hand-spring the British foreign secretary will now attempt when the full force of his latest statement is generally realized in China. Thus far he has been compelled to issue involved "explanations" at least three times in order to keep on good terms with the Japanese and the Tory interests in Britain which are openly sympathetic toward the Japanese.

Some indication of real Japanese feelings at the rebuff at Geneva has been provided by statements by Yosuke Matsuoka, since the withdrawal of the Japanese delegation. First, Mr. Matsuoka openly expressed regret at the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance at the Washington Conference in 1922, declaring, "History will proclam the reunciation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance after the



From the New York *Times*

This map, reproduced from the *Literary Digest*, shows the beginning of the Japanese drive into Jehol province. The arrows indicate the routes taken by the various Japanese armies in driving on Nanling and Chaoyang on the southeast and Kailu on the Northeast, the final objective being Chengteh or Jehol City, capital of the Province. The Japanese, according to latest reports, claim to have occupied Nanling, Chaoyang and Kailu.

This cartoon showing the Imperial Japanese Army wiping its feet on the prostrate League of Nations, with the European nations trying to save the League's face, appeared in the Manchester *Evening Standard* and *Manchester Guardian* on Jan. 20.

Great War as one of the greatest tragedies of our time." A few days later he followed this up in an interview at Paris (*United Press*, Feb. 28) wherein he bitterly attacked the United States for its support of China and opposition to Japan, saying, "Japan will regard the participation of the United States in the proposed conciliation committee with suspicion and with distrust. For many years the popular attitude in the United States and even the attitude of the American Government has been, we feel, unfair to us. America and Americans have condoned the faults of China, despite their colossal character, and have magnified our faults. American influence against us with the League has been evident from the beginning of the dispute. Except for the influence of the United States with the League, I think we would have come to terms. It is not pleasant for any Japanese to say such things about another great power, but the time has come for the Japanese to speak frankly."

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Japanese Advance Into Jehol Temporarily Checked

The Japanese-Manchukuo military machine started their general offensive on February 23, the Japanese troops being under the command of Lieut.-General Sakamoto of the 6th Division and Major General K. Mogi, commander of the 4th Independent Cavalry Brigade, and the Manchukuo troops under command of General Chang Hai-ping, the chief aide-de-camp to Henry Pu Yi, chief executive (so-called). The net result of the Japanese-Manchukuo advance so far is that Kailu and Chaoyang are both ruined cities as a consequence of Japanese air bombings. The Chinese troops exacuated Chaoyang late on the night of February 25 by the light of the burning city. The Chinese commander, General Tung Fu-ting, a subordinate of General Tang Yu-lin, on retiring formed a line west of Chaoyang southward to the Jehol border at Paishihtzu, which is southeast of Lingnan. The Suzuki brigade took over Chaoyang when it was abandoned by the Chinese.

Kailu was abandoned by the Chinese as the result of terrific and repeated Japanese bombings. The radio, telegraph and post offices were obliterated.

Following an aerial bombardment of the Chinese lines at Yehchikou, the Yoneyama detachment, forming part of the Hattori brigade, captured the city, according to a Japanese message Feb. 27. The message stated that the Chinese defenders retreated in the direction of Lingyuan.

The two crucial points for the supremacy of Jehol are Chifeng and Lingyuan. The Chinese do not hope to hold out indefinitely at these points, but intend to make the Japanese advance as costly as possible.

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Japanese Cavalry at Chihfeng

A Tokyo telegram March 1 stated that the Mogi cavalry was about to enter Chihfeng and that the Chinese were withdrawing. The Japanese predicted the early capture of Lingyuan.

Chinese casualties reported in the course of a week's campaign were put around 500. All operations are being conducted under severe climatic conditions. In southern Jehol the weather has been generally fair, but around the Kailu region high winds, sand storms and snow storms continued to be reported, with exceedingly low temperatures.

A *United Press* telegram from Tokyo Feb. 25 stated that there were some sign of confusion among the Chinese troops in Jehol and Gen. Liu Kuei-tang is reported to have surrendered to the Manchukuo state after having despatched a circular telegram denouncing Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang.

By Feb. 27 the Japanese had come to realize that the penetration of Jehol was more difficult than

expected. The attack on Paishihtsu, on the southern provincial border, having been fruitless, the Japanese turned their attention to the northern end of the Chinese line, at a point westward of Chaoyang. They were attacking strongly Tamiao, 10 miles west of Chaoyang on the morning of Feb. 27.

Enthusiasm Among Chinese Troops

A *Reuter* correspondent who toured Jehol province as far as Lingyuan, through Lingchuan telegraphed on Feb. 26 that he encountered the greatest enthusiasm among the troops all along the route. These high spirits were also reflected in the attitude of civilians.

A dramatic change took place in the Japanese tactics Feb. 28 when the Japanese having failed at Paishihtsu, south-east of Lingnan, suddenly switched northwards and made a strong thrust to the west of Chaoyang. Leaving sufficient forces to keep the Chinese busily employed in the Paishihtsu area, the Japanese made a sudden violent thrust at Tamiao, which is a pass ten miles west of Chaoyang. Once again heavy aerial bombing accompanied by artillery bombardment announced the new point of attack. The Japanese endeavored to turn the Chinese flank in order to force a passage to Chienping, half way between Chihfeng and Lingyuan, but the Chinese, well settled in the Tamiao pass, withstood all attacks, though they paid a heavy price in casualties.

Chinese Line Holds

Forty-eight hours of bombardment from the air and from artillery, followed by infantry and cavalry charges, failed to make any impression Feb. 28 on the Chinese line established line from the west of Chaoyang right line established from the west of Chaoyang right south to the Jehol border.

According to a report from General Tang, on February 25 a brigade of 5,000 men under the Manchukuo general Yang Ying-po turned over from Manchukuo and placed itself under General Tang's leadership near Chaoyang. Japanese planes pursued them and slaughtered many, but they are now fighting against the Japanese in the Tamiao sector.

According to statements made by Chinese Volunteer troops, the Japanese lost heavily in animals in crossing the sandy waste between Kailu and Hsiahuo.

The most recent despatches generally indicated that the Chinese will make their principal stand somewhere near Chengtehfu. As the outlying lines retreat they will join the main defense lines.

Japanese Claim Few Casualties

An official communique issued at Tokyo Feb. 27 stated that only one officer and 11 men had been injured on the side of Japanese troops since February 24. The communique confirmed the press reports of the capture of Kailu, Suitung, Shimentze and Suikowkow by the Manchukuo-Japanese forces together with heavy quantities of ammunition.

A Japanese telegram from Kailu, in north-eastern Jehol Feb. 27 said that the cavalry of the Mogi Brigade left Hsiawa early that morning and pressing southward covered about 25 miles by noon, when they reached a road junction at a point midway between Chihfeng and Fushin, the former of which is in the center of the province, while Fushin lies to the east of it.

A *Kuo Min* message from Chengte Feb. 26 stated that sanguinary fighting between the Chinese and Japanese at Lingnan, southern Jehol, had commenced the previous day. 10,000 Japanese infantry units and 5,000 cavalrymen, after passing Laoyehling and Lishukow, attacked the Chinese entrenchments at Wutzushan and Laoyehmiao, but were checked by the Jehol brigade under Major-General Liu Hsiang-chiu.

A Tokyo telegram Feb. 28 said that no attempt will be made by the Japanese to thrust westward along the Great Wall, as their main object is to drive the Chinese troops out of Jehol southward through passes into North China and not to bottle them up. Consequently the passes leading into China Proper have been intentionally left open for the purpose of facilitating a Chinese withdrawal.

The main resistance encountered by the Japanese was along the Suichung-Lingyuan road, up which the Hattori brigade continued to force its way gradually in spite of a well-constructed trench system, reported to be forty miles in length.. Though the Japanese casualties from the fighting are reported to be light, the troops, especially those hailing from the southern island of Japan are stated to be suffering from the bitter cold. The thermometer stands at 27 degrees of frost, and great numbers of the Japanese troops are suffering from frost-bite.

The sudden silencing of the Chinese radio station at Hsiaowo, 60 miles east of Chihfeng was considered by Chinese commanders in Peiping Feb. 28 to indicate that the town had fallen to the Japanese and enabled them to strike at the rear of the Chihfeng defenses.

The Japanese had covered approximately half the distance from Kailu to Chihfeng by Feb. 28. The advance was made in the face of snow and dust storms. They encountered little resistance while crossing the plains.

Manchukuo Ultimatum to Nanking Lays Blame on China

The ultimatum of the State of Manchukuo to the Nanking Government and Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang was dispatched Feb. 25. The note accuses the Chinese of responsibility for spread of trouble in Jehol and says that if military action should spread inside the Great Wall, China must assume the blame. It orders China to withdraw all troops from Jehol.

Chinese Airplanes Fly Over Shanhaikwan

Rengo reported Feb. 25 that two Chinese military planes made their appearance over Shanhaikwan and after reconnoitring for about 10 minutes flew away towards the west. *Rengo* commented that, judging from the skillful handling of the machines, it was believed they were piloted by foreign experts.

Japanese Reinforcements Rushed to Shanhaikwan

Tension has increased at Shanhaikwan as a result of the movements of the Chinese troops which the Japanese fear are trying to encircle the Japanese troops stationed at Chumenkow and Shanhaikuan.

A contingent of Japanese troops on the morning of Feb. 28, left Shanhaikuan Station accompanied by an armored train and some tanks. Japanese residents of Shanhaikwan have been ordered to prepare for evacuation into the Chinese city.

Japanese Reinforce Tientsin Defenses

The Japanese military authorities at Tientsin are working hard, reinforcing the defences of the Japanese Concession, which adjoin the Chinese City. Lanes and side streets leading from the Concession are being protected with barbed wire, while brick and cement protecting walls are much in evidence. Thousands of sand-bags are being filled in preparation for possible eventualities. All this work is being performed by Japanese soldiers.

The Japanese authorities at Tientsin have protested to General Hsueh-chung, the Chinese commander there, against his making entrenchments and other defences in the Tangku area against a possible Japanese attack.

The Japanese protest is based on the argument that these defences violate the Boxer Protocol. General Yu has given the assurances required which means, if, as seem more than likely, the Japanese come in through the Great Wall the Chinese will be resisting them while being responsible for the protection of the Japanese civilians, reservists and soldiers now crowding the Japanese Concession. *Reuter* says Tientsin is a "powder magazine"

Four cases have been cited by the Japanese War Office, in which Japanese troops in Jehol might have to take "precautionary measures," which it is hinted, might involve an extension of operations: First, more Chinese troops are sent into Jehol to hinder the subjugation of that territory; secondly, the Japanese-Manchukuo troops and the Chinese troops hold against each other at the Great Wall; thirdly, if Chinese airplanes, having their bases in the Peking districts, deliberately take part in the engagements in Jehol; and fourthly, if disturbances break out in the Peking districts and the lives and interests of Japanese residents are jeopardised.

Sun Fo Discusses the Possibility of a Japanese Blockade

Sun Fo, President of the Legislative Yuan, received Chinese and foreign pressmen at his residence in Nanking Feb. 24. Referring to one of the most important aspects—the reported Japanese blockade of Chinese ports, Mr. Sun expressed his fear that this would certainly be "dangerous" for China. The Chinese, he said, must depend on the importation of ammunition from foreign countries to carry on their war with Japan. In addition, he continued, China, though an agricultural country supposedly self-supporting, nevertheless imported annually an enormous quantity of foodstuffs from abroad. Con-

sidering this, Sun Fo declared "the blockade would have the effect of starving our people."

Shanghai Will Be Safe, Japanese Consul Says

The Japanese Consul-General Mr. Ishii, in an interview Feb. 26 stated there was no reason to fear any disturbance in Shanghai. Mr. Ishii said he had several meetings with Mayor Wu Teh-chen, during which they mutually guaranteed that no disturbance of any character should be created by either the Chinese or the Japanese in Shanghai, no matter how serious a situation in North China should develop. He asked the local Japanese to carry on their routine business as usual, ignoring rumors.

The Japanese Navy Office announced that precautionary measures were being taken to protect Japanese nationals in China lest the operations in Jehol should precipitate anti-Japanese violence on Tokyo Feb. 28

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Chiang Is Asked to Lead Defense in the North

A call for General Chiang Kai-shek, chairman of the Military Affairs Commission, to leave Kiangsi for the North to personally direct the campaign of resistance against Japanese invasion of Jehol, which originally came from commanding officers of the regular army and Volunteers now defending Jehol, has gained the hearty following of patriotic groups in Shanghai. The Association of University professors in Shanghai has petitioned the National Government urging the withdrawal of the Chinese minister to Tokyo, the severance of diplomatic as well as economic relations with Japan, the launching of counter-attacks upon Manchuria and Japanese concessions in various cities throughout the country and the organization of a national volunteer corps to which all citizens, excepting women and children, should be recruited.

For the purpose of co-ordinating the activities of various national salvation societies in Peiping, General Chen Hsin-yah is promoting the establishment of an association to be known as the National Salvation Federation. Many Peiping Chinese leaders are reported to have signified their willingness to join the federation.

Declaring that business circles throughout the country should lead the way in giving support to the army of resistance at the Jehol front, 183 trade guilds in Shanghai have issued a circular telegram announcing their intention to prosecute the anti-Japanese boycott intensively and to assist the troops now fighting against the Japanese invaders.

Entire Nation Urged to Co-operate

The situation in Jehol was the subject of the speeches at the weekly memorial meetings at the National Government office as well as at the Central Kuomintang headquarters in Nanking Feb. 27. Chu Cheng, President of the Judicial Yuan, urged that the entire nation should co-operate in the efforts being made to check the invaders, at the same time stressing the necessity for a prolonged struggle.

Yeh Chu-tsang emphasized that at the present critical time the Chinese people must be alert but not alarmed.

T. V. Soong Sees Chiang Kai-shek

After conferring with General Chiang Kai-shek on military and financial problems, T. V. Soong, Minister of Finance, returned to Nanking from Nanchang, Feb. 25, accompanied by General Chang Chun.

A dinner was given by General Chiang Kai-shek, at Nanchang, Feb. 25 in honor of General Huang Shao-hsiung, Minister of Interior, who has arrived there to report on his conferences with the Southwestern leaders during his recent visit to Canton. General Huang stated that the Southwestern authorities are in full accord with the Central Government regarding resistance against the Japanese and the bandit-suppression campaign in Kiangsi.

General Shang Chen and General Peng Ping-hsuan, who arrived here from Honan recently, called on Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang at Peiping Feb. 22 and conferred with him regarding the participation of their troops in the defence of Jehol against Japanese invasion.

The Shansi and Suiyuan troops are ready to leave for Jehol to participate in the defence of that province against Japanese invasion, General Fu Tso-yi, the chairman of the Suiyuan provincial government, told Chinese press men on his arrival at Peiping from Taiyuan Feb. 22.

Northeastern Association Supports Resistance Movement

Mobilization of the entire nation to resist the Japanese invaders was urged in a Manifesto issued by the North-Eastern Association, which has been formed by civic and political leaders in Shanghai to organize systematic support for resistance against the Japanese and recovery of the North-Eastern provinces. The Association counts among the members Messrs. Yu Ya-ching, Wang Hsiao-lai, Shih Liang-tsai, Lin Kang-hou, Mayor Wu Te-cheng, Dr. C. T. Wang, Wang Yen-sung and Chen Li-fu.

The Greater Shanghai Citizens' Association issued a Manifesto Feb. 24 to the local Chinese community calling upon them to give systematic support for the Chinese defence forces in Jehol.

The Manifesto points out that as the Report of the League of Nations' Committee of 19 has definitely recognized Manchuria as part of Chinese territory, it is now the duty of the Chinese nation to recover it.

China Is Helped by American-Trained Chinese Aviators

A great mass meeting of American Chinese was held in San Francisco February 26, in order to discuss plans of raising money for China's continued resistance against the Japanese invasion. Many American trained Chinese aviators have already left for the Chinese front, and scores of others are in training in all the cities along the west coast of America.

Japanese Navy to Institute Blockade?

Chinese telegrams from all parts of the country indicate there is going on a quiet withdrawal of Japanese from interior points and coast ports, preparatory to the invoking of a blockade of Chinese ports by the Japanese Navy.

Japanese nationals in Swatow left that city for Japan Feb. 26 following the receipt of urgent instruction from the Japanese Consul.

The Chinese allege that a large air base has been established in Formosa and that a large number of Japanese warships have also received orders to proceed to South China. It is feared that the Japanese may launch an attack somewhere in South China in the near future.

Two additional Japanese cruisers have arrived at Amoy from Formosa. These men-of-war brought a number of wooden boxes, which the Chinese believed to constorage in the Japanese Consulate in that city.

The *Shun Pao* (Shanghai) states that the Japanese naval authorities are making preparations for a blockade of Taku, near Tientsin. It is said the blockade will be formally declared immediately the Japanese residents in North China have been evacuated.

Acting under orders from the Japanese Legation, a part of the staff of the Japanese Consulate at Kalgan has withdrawn to Peiping and will be sent back to Tokyo by way of Tangku.

Under orders of the Japanese Navy Ministry a number of Japanese steamers have proceeded to Tientsin to transport Japanese residents to Japan.

Japanese nationals at Kongmoon are evacuating that city following receipt of urgent instructions from the Japanese Consul at Hongkong.

Although the Japanese deny that there is such a withdrawal movement, it is confirmed at least as far as Kalgan is concerned that all Japanese have withdrawn from that city.

Huge Quantities Wheat Arrive from Canada and Australia

Since the beginning of the present year, more than 40 ships have arrived here from Australia and Canada each ship carrying an average cargo of 6,000 tons of wheat. Previous to the New Year, the importation of wheat also was much heavier than usual.

There were 10 grain ships in port last week and seven more are due to arrive during the first week of March. The unusual number of ships is causing harbor officials to crowd the buoy and dock facilities. Chinese officials have stated that the reason for the large amounts of imported wheat is that China produced this past year only 30 per cent of its anticipated wheat crop, and that the imports will only supply the actual demand. Statements by shipping firms indicate that between 500,000 and 1,000,000 tons of wheat will have been brought into Shanghai from Australia, Canada, and the Argentine by the middle of Spring, which amount is thought to be in excess of

the actual demand. The explanation probably is that the Chinese fear a blockade of its ports by the Japanese Navy and as a consequence the mills are taking time by the forelock.

Matsuoka Pines for the Anglo-Japanese Alliance

"But for my oriental fortitude I should have wept", said Mr. Matsuoka, chief Japanese delegate at Geneva, when interviewed in Geneva with reference to the vote of the League in support of the report and recommendations. Mr. Matsuoka made this statement just before leaving Geneva. He added that history would proclaim the renunciation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance after the Great War as one of the greatest tragedies of our time.

Hollington Tong in The *China Press* (Shanghai) interprets Mr. Matsuoka's statement as a threat to Britain.

League Advisory Committee Invites America and Russia

The advisory committee created by the League Assembly Feb. 24 to follow the Sino-Japanese dispute at its inaugural meeting decided to invite America and Russia to participate in its work.

United States Supports Action of League

Colonel Stimson stated in Washington Feb. 25 that the findings of fact arrived at by the League and the understanding of the facts derived by the United States Government from the reports of its own representatives are substantially in accord.

The United States Government also is in general accord with the League's conclusions, Col. Stimson said.

Telegrams from Washington state that the United States will co-operate with the League of Nations Manchurian Committee.

The Soviet Government has announced that it will not participate.

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British Comments Widely Divergent

Japan and the League were the main topic in all the morning papers in London Feb. 25.

The *News Chronicle* declared that an international embargo on arms and money for Japan should be imposed immediately.

Any decision affecting the vital interests of Great Britain and the Empire must be taken in London and not Geneva, declared the *Daily Express*.

The *Daily Mirror*, on the other hand, said emphatically that "Britain's business is to keep carefully aloof and refuse to make war in the vain hope of stopping a war made by others."

By the Assembly's adoption of the Report of the Committee of Nineteen, the League has gained a victory not over Japan, though that will yet come, but over itself, the *Manchester Guardian* stated in an editorial Feb. 2. No nation that accepts the League's verdict, it added, can now sell arms to Japan without becoming a mercenary accomplice in a treaty-breaking and brutalist war.

For every reason it is most desirable that Japan should maintain her co-operation with the Disarmament Conference, declared *The Times* on the same date. It would be unworthy of a great nation like Japan, it said, to abstain completely from all participation in the good work which the League of Nations is doing in so many spheres because on one issue her views and the League's views are irreconcilable.

The supreme interest of Great Britain is peace, declared Winston Churchill, in a speech in London Feb. 24. British interests require us to keep out of the quarrel in the Far East, and not wantonly to throw away our old and valued friendship with Japan, he said.

German Comment on League Action

The Geneva developments on in the Manchurian conflict have evoked a loud echo in the press throughout Germany. *Voelkischer Beobachter*, Herr Hitler's own organ, headed its Geneva report with "The League dares to defy Japan", adding however, in its editorial comment that even so the Assembly lacked the courage to request the Japanese military to evacuate Manchuria. *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* declared that at least the League has rallied to something resembling action, though the major Powers took good care to remain in the background, using the delegates of the smaller Powers as their mouthpieces. The journal added that though the League did not succeed in preventing a Sino-Japanese war, it did at any rate go far in averting a greater calamity.

Nanking Official Organ Urges Strong Resistance

Commenting on the Japanese memorandum and the invasion of Jehol, the official *Central Daily News* at Nanking Feb. 24, said China should mobilise the nation's entire strength for resistance. "We should not hope for immediate outside assistance, or a lucky change in the situation that would save us from disaster."

Under the caption "42 against 1," the *Shun Pao* declared that the adoption of the Report has given important moral support to China in her present struggle with the Japanese.

The *Min Pao*, Shanghai Kuomintang organ, commenting upon the virtually unanimous adoption of the Report, declared in an editorial Feb. 26 that this was the first time that world public opinion had taken such concrete expression; by the adoption of the Report, Japan's policy has been condemned by the whole world and she is placed in a position of absolute isolation.

Reported British Approval of Japanese Actions in Jehol Denied

The Japanese report that Sir John Simon, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, had informed Japan that the British Government did not object to the Japanese actions in Jehol so long as they were confined to that province was emphatically denied by the British Foreign Office in London Feb. 26. The original statement was contained in a *Reuter* telegram.

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The Japanese Ultimatum to China

The evacuation of Chinese troops from Jehol was demanded in an aide memoire presented to Dr. Lo Wen-kan, by Mr. Uyemura, the Japanese consul-general at Nanking, Feb. 23. The Japanese memorandum was as follows:—

"1.—The presence of troops under Chang Hsueh-liang and other anti-Manchukuo forces is incompatible not only with the sovereignty of Manchukuo but also with the restoration of peace and order in Jehol. The Manchukuo army is now putting into execution a plan to exterminate bandits and remnants of soldier-bandits in the province of Jehol and the Japanese army is obligated to give assistance to it under the terms of the protocol concluded between Japan and Manchukuo. The Manchukuo Government has repeatedly demanded that Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang withdraw his troops to regions inside the Great Wall, but these demands were unheeded. Should this campaign in Jehol lead to armed conflict between the Japanese army, acting in co-operation with the Manchukuo army, and Chang Hsueh-liang's troops and other anti-Manchukuo forces it will be entirely due to the presence of Chang Hsueh-liang's troops in Jehol and the responsibility shall therefore rest with China, who has rejected the demands of Manchukuo.

"2.—The activities of the Japanese troops in Jehol whose aim is the pacification of Jehol province, as stated above, and who are co-operating with the Manchukuo forces, have no other objective than to insure order and tranquility in that province. In principle they will remain within the territory of Manchukuo. But if Chang Hsueh-liang's troops and other anti-Manchukuo forces persist in taking positive action, it will be difficult to guarantee that fighting will not spread to North China. If any situation should arise as a result thereof, the responsibility shall rest entirely with China.

"3.—Manchukuo has always accorded generous treatment to anti-Manchukuo forces who surrender themselves. Should Tang Yu-lin and his troops, as well as the other anti-Manchukuo forces surrender to Manchukuo, they will be dealt with leniently in accordance with the policy hitherto followed."

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China's Prompt Reply of Refusal

The following was the Chinese reply to the Japanese memorandum, also issued Feb. 23:

"1.—Since September 18 of 1931 Japan has effected the military occupation of the Three Eastern Provinces and has established there a puppet regime. Japan is now again concentrating large forces and attacking Jehol, which, like the Three Eastern Provinces, is an integral part of China's territory. The Chinese Government, in despatching troops to Jehol for defense against external military aggression, is exercising its inherent sovereign right. That the Japanese Government should demand the withdrawal of Chinese forces from Jehol is manifestly to

(Continued on page 31)

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64-022

Withdrawal from League Now Completely Upsets Japanese Minds

(From The Review's Tokyo Correspondent)
(Translations from various Japanese Publications)

Strike While the Iron Is Hot

(By War Minister Gen. Araki—Tokyo Asahi)

IN the event of the Recommendations being proven to be such as is now rumored there is but one course left for Japan to pursue, and that is to make a clean breast of our true intentions before the whole world and then quickly to quit the League of Nations. It seems there are those who entertain such an apprehension that, if the question of withdrawal becomes a reality, another world war may be unavoidable or an economic disaster may ensue. All these fears are unwarranted and groundless because it is nonsensical to imagine there is in lifeless and depressed Europe a country which will take up arms to save the face of the League. Some are concerned with the state of national isolation from the rest of the World, but, is it possible to imagine greater isolation of the nation than at present? Though there may be temporary agitation in economic circles, yet they will soon return to normality. If we fail to effect the withdrawal at this juncture, we shall be giving thereby a very bad influence to the new state and further taxing the financial circles of our country in consequence of increased war expenditure. We are not a machine. If left at the mercy of drizzle-like deliberations and negotiations there is no knowing when the empowered spirit of the nation may begin to droop. Iron must be struck when it is red-hot; the army should be operated when the morale of troops is perfect. No decisive battle can be fought. therefore, unless we utilize the fighting spirit of the army now at its zenith. In view of the negative attitude taken by our country at the London Conference and its ill effects from which we are still suffering, we cannot but confidently declare that there is no use at this juncture of the nation's showing a lingering attitude.

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Better Quit the League

(Tokyo Nichi Nichi, Feb. 18)

Those who favor the decision of remaining with the League, maintain that by doing so Japan will save herself from being isolated internationally, and that in addition to this she will be able to retain the right of speech without the fear of being subjected to judgment by default. These insistences of the anti-withdrawal group are contradictory when the existing state of Japan's position in the League of Nations. which is already perfect isolation, is taken into consideration. To retain membership in the League of Nations is tantamount to remaining only as a nominal member. By retaining membership in the League, far from being saved from falling into the awkward situation of solitude, Japan, would be letting the League broadcast before the world her helplessness by means of its publicity organs. What these people rely on must be no other than the fact that the isolation in the League is not of our own making while that outside that institution is the contrary. Even so, we cannot bear the idea of remaining in the League with the countries which tried to make Japan stand alone; besides hurting our feelings, the attempt would be inviting added coutempt from other member states. Futheremore, the solitary situation she now finds herself in is not of temporary nature but almost eternal, because unless she cancels the recognition of Manchukuo there is no hope of emerging out of the present isolation. Since, however, the decisive measure Japan took for the well being of the infant state is the result of matured deliberation and constitutes one of the unalterable state policies of our country, we see no use of our enlightening further the League of Nations by sticking to its membership. In short, there is no room left for conciliation between Japan and the League so far as the Manchurian question is concerned, and naturally the isolation of our country shoud be regarded as eternal. Where then is the reason for standing on our position in the League in the face of national dishonor and humiliation? We must here repeat that it is nonsense to think of utilizing the international organ by remaining with it; it is because of this very membership she enjoys that the country has had to suffer a position of an accused. Now that the League has spoken out its mind about Sino-Japanese relations and since what Japan is concerned about is limited to them, we have no reason whatever to retain her foothold in the League compound. Besides, it would be too late at this time to fear isolation. Inasmuch as there is thus no difference whether we stick to our position in the institution or stand aloof from it in so far as the isolated position of the country is concerned, there is no alternative for us but to cut open our own way toward establishing ourselves one a firm basis in the solitude. Already when recognition was granted to the new state we had anticipated the present culmination; we ought not to have done so if in these late hours we fear international isolation.

May Wait Three Months

(Tokyo Nichi Nichi, Feb. 19)

The formal steps of withdrawal from the League should be taken subsequent to a period of three months after the adoption of the recommendations of the Committee of Nineteen by the League Assembly, was the point emphasized by Foreign Minister Uchida, at the special session of the Saito Cabinet on Friday, Feb. 17. During the intervening period, all details and formalities necessary for the withdrawal are to be prefected, the Foreign Minister said, asking the understanding of the other Ministers. He declared that if the solution recommendations are adopted in spite of the opposition of our country, the break with the League is inevitable. He also outlined the opinion of the Foreign Office. Subsequent to the adjournment of the Cabinet meeting, the Foreign Minister declared at his private residence: "I here make a definite statement, that Japan will never swerve from her past policy of justice, regardless of whatever moves the League authorities may make in the future."

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Firmest Tie of the Nation Is Essential

(By Soho Tokutomi—Tokyo Nichi Nichi)

青山元不動. 白雲自去來. The mentality of the Japanese must have now reached this realm.

The question now pending is whether the new state should be Manchukuo, the Manchukuo of China or that under international control in name but not in deed. Whatever may be the conditions offered, Japan's Eastern policy would be completely upset if she should recognize Chinese sovereignty over Manchukuo.

We understand the evacuation of the Japanese troops is demanded, but who could maintain peace and order in Manchuria after they have done so? The international corps of gendarmes is by no means reliable.

Even the author of the Lytton report himself has come to clearly denounce the League's having gone too far in the mediatory measures. The League applies to the Orient the gauge with which it measures the welfare and benefits of Europe and America. The attitude of the League is just like compelling others to wear shoes of its own size.

Never should we get excited or be alarmed. Only we are to decide, when the time comes what steps are to be taken of our own free will and not by coercion of others. Our insistence shall exist forever, immovable. What requires our attention most of all is the maintenance of the noble, unperturbed attitude becoming a great nation. Rather than depend on the power of a few important personages we must realize the paramount need of the unification and cooperation of the whole nation To do so, we must first of all return to ourselves and quit the habit of looking far away from our respective thresholds.

Oriental Monroe Doctrine to Follow Withdrawal

(By Kazuo Matsubara—Gaikojiho)

The greatest question now set face to face with us is what will follow the actual severance by Japan of her relations with the League. By this I do not mean to take up such a petty problem as the fate of the territory mandated to Japan, but what I intend to throw light on is the probable position awaiting us in the world arena. Since we discontinue connections with the world's organ, to such a question as the mandated islands we need not give any further consideration. for there is no knowing what steps the League may take notwithstanding mature deliberation on our part.

By finishing with the League because of the Manchurian trouble Japan by no means stands alone in the world. This is because the international body is made up of world Powers, and by severing connections with that organ Japan can never stand separated from the rest of the world. Likewise, by means of withdrawal from the League Japan is by no means able to find herself in a better position to

restrain the movement of the international organ. After Japan's withdrawal the League will be better able to do what it likes. What, if the Powers combine to take antagonistic measures against Japan in thought and action? What effective schedule has Japan to defend the dashing current with? We recall in our memory the American Monroe Doctrine and at the same time the British Monroe Doctrine, of which reservation was made by John Bull at the time of signing the Anti-War Pact. In other words, what comes up in bold relief in our consciousness is the Japan Monroe Doctrine or the Asia Monroe Doctrine. Although we are still unable to make out the substance of the doctrine, nor have we means to fathom the actual power which it may possess, yet the way of despatching the Manchurian affairs by our country bespeaks of the existence of this doctrine. If it were not for this very motive, Japan would never be so engrossed in the welfare of Manchuria as to refuse intervention of the League and turn a deaf ear to advice from the United States. All theoretical considerations abide, we feel the pulse of the Japanese nation beating the march toward this direction—toward establishing the Japan Monroe Doctrine. When all these considerations are taken into account we arrive at a conclusion that what follows Japan's withdrawal must be no other than the efforts toward consummation of this doctrine.

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Educate the League to the Last Moment

(By Dr. Hashio Yamakawa—Kaizo)

In the article of the League Covenant it is stipulated that in case both parties to the dispute refuse to accept the recommendation of the League after it has passed the League Council, they are deprived of the liberty of resorting to war within 3 months from the date of the recommendation. If on the other hand it so happens that the recommendation is acceded to by one party and rejected by the other, the latter party has no right to wage war against the former, according to the same article. Therefore, by refusing to accept the recommendation, the party has to suffer no punishment except the aforementioned restraints.

For the same reason the economic blockade so much fussed about of late in our country, is not to be realized by our refusing the recommendation based on Clause 4. So long as we remain faithful to the Covenant we have nothing to apprehend.

With reference to the economic blockade, it is easy to prescribe but hard to practise. At the first General Assembly the stipulation pertaining to the measure received diverse criticisms from smaller nations, and as a result their scope of carrying on blockade thereafter was to be decided according to the convenience of each of them. Naturally, therefore, an economic blockade is only possible when, as was the case of Germany before the outbreak of the World War, the world's public opinions takes a radical turn against the offender.

Under these circumstances it seems as if the League has no *raison d'etre*, but the League amply supplements this drawback by having recourse to a measure of publicly announcing its entire records of investigation, procedure of meetings and subsequent discussions and its own recommendations in order to sound world opinions. In this way the international body has done much toward solving the knotty disputes among nations, for the parties in dispute would make concessions and come to better relations in consideration of the international trend of opinions.

To return to ourselves, we find the world's opinions go against us. In ordinary cases Japan would listen to the voices, but in this particular case we fully recognize the wrong direction to which the world current of opinions continues to advance. It is this very consciousness on the part of Japan of the unjust conceptions of the world that deprives the country of the obedience characteristic to the nation.

The League measures exotic conditions and affairs with the same old scale with which it gauged things in Europe and successfully disposed of discords among Western nations. Here lies what we condemn as lack of recognition by the League, and here is the fountain of bubble measures which it applies to the solution of the Manchurian question.

Since we are thus conscious of the irrational practice on the part of the world organ, there is no use of our being apprehensive of the application of the Clause 4 of Article 15; instead, we must stand our position in the League and continue endeavoring as in the past to lead and enlighten the League on the Eastern affairs.

We have contributed much toward advancing the League's cause, and at the same time succeeded to a considerable extent in making it listen to our insistence. If, indeed, it had not been for the power which the country enjoys as a great nation Japan could not have retained her indomitable spirit and position in the League of Nations; she must have given in at the "13 to 1" event in October, 1931. Between the application of Clause 4 of Article 15 and the "13 to 1" case and the decision reached by the Assembly of March last year, there is little or no difference. What is left for us to strive at is to repeat what we did on those two occasions, that is, to go on with added enthusiasm enlightening the institution to be better qualified to handle affairs in the Orient. It would not be becoming to a country of Japan's greatness if she tried to escape difficulties; the greater the hardship the more courage is required to meet the adversity with success. This I believe is the only way open before us to lead to the realization of our long cherished hope regarding Manchuria.

Grover Clark Says China Will Eventually Win

The ultimate fall from power of the military groups in Japan and in the end a "collapse of Japanese political and military power in China" were confidently predicted by Grover Clark, former editor of the *Peking Leader*, in a speech before the American Bankers' Association in session in New York, Jan. 27. He said the recent acts of aggression by Japan were the immediate result of the needs of the Japanese military to strengthen themselves at home.

"There can be no doubt that in the end the outcome of the Japanese moves of this past year and more will be the destruction of the power of the Japanese military—just as the great war destroyed the German junker class," Mr. Clark said. The ultimate result of the collapse of Japanese political and military power in China is absolutely sure, for one completely determining, even though simple, reason. This is: Japan cannot live without China but China can live comparatively easily without Japan. The final balance of power is with China, Mr. Clark added.

Tientsin Fur Magazine Not Banned Because of "Moire" Protest

In the course of an article dealing with the fur industry and the present war situation which appeared in *The Review* on Feb. 11 it was stated that the Chinese postal authorities banned the *Oriental Fur Trade Review* because of articles it contained protesting against the Chinese prohibition of export of "moire" lamb-skins.

According to a letter received this week from L. Epstein, editor of the Tientsin fur organ, the Chinese postal ban against the paper was enforced because the publication had not been registered with the Ministry of Interior at Nanking. According to Mr. Epstein, his magazine is shortly resuming publication under the title of *Oriental Export Review*. The last issue of the paper in August, 1932 contained a strong protest against the action of the Chinese Customs authorities in prohibiting the export of "moire" or unborn lamb-skins. Later the export ban was removed for a period of two years.

Precipitate Shooting by Tonkinese Policeman in French Concession

As a sequel to a shooting affray in the French Concession on the evening of Feb. 25 when Chinese tried forcibly to prevent a Tonkinese constable removing the license board from a public ricsha which had contravened the traffic regulations and were shot at by him, the Ningpo Residents' Association has sent letters of protest to the French Municipal Council and to the Second Special District Court demanding the drastic punishment of the constable and the payment of compensation to the dead and injured. Two Chinese are dead as a result of the incident, one having been shot dead on the spot and the other dying from his wounds later. The French authorities are inquiring into the matter.

Japanese Alleged to Be Implicated in Air Base Spying in Kamchatka

A Japanese and three Russians were arrested Feb. 24 in Kamchatka and are being questioned in connection with an alleged plot to destroy the aviation base at Ust-Bolsheresk. The arrests were made following a fire in the Civic Aviation Fleet building in the outskirts of the town. Firemen reported that the fire was undoubtedly of incendiary origin.

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Manchuria: A Warning to America

BY NATHANIEL PEFFER

(Harpers Magazine, February, 1933)

A YEAR has passed since Japan's absorption of Manchuria presented the most serious threat to world peace since 1918 and the first concrete test of all the hopes, plans, and devices contrived for the prevention of war. It is time to take a reckoning.

Two items stand out in such a reckoning.

First: America, while clinging to the fiction of isolation from Europe, has become definitely, alarmingly, and perhaps inextricably involved in Asia.

Second: The promise of control of war by international machinery has proved illusive. For despite the concurrent ceremonials of League of Nations meetings, international commissions, invocations of peace pacts, and "the technic of peace by conference," Japan has acted as it would have acted before 1914. It wanted Manchuria and has taken it. The League of Nations and the Kellogg Pact might as well not have been.

It is not my intention here to discuss questions of Far Eastern international politics or the Manchurian controversy. They have been sufficiently aired, and the issue has now passed far beyond their intrinsic importance. Nor do I wish to labor the obvious point that the League has failed. For the point is not so much that the League has failed as that it never had a chance to succeed. And in this point lies the innermost truth of the Manchurian controversy, of the whole Far Eastern question, and of all international relations, for that matter. The larger significance of the Manchurian episode and its aftermath is just this, that it is the perfect laboratory specimen of how international conflicts are made, how not to attempt to unmake them, and also how they might be averted if we were willing to pay the price. What it shows is that peace cannot be achieved through mechanisms, that there can be no peace so long as the causes of war remain—that is, so long as nations strive for objects which can be attained only by the use of armed force.

Conditions Must Be Faced

This truth, platitudinous and commonly ignored, has never been more completely ignored than in the last year. Underlying all the organized efforts to deal with the Manchurian affair—and never before has so conscious and systematic an effort been made to deal with an international dispute—has been the premise that this was a "crisis," to be "settled" by bringing about a cessation of fighting and a compromise between the disputants, after which peace would be secured. There has been no disposition to face the conditions in the Far East which produce conflicts like this one, which have produced them before, and will do so again unless they are changed.

The Manchurian affair has been treated as an event isolated in time and space, as beginning in 1931, restricted to a region north of the Great Wall of China, and concerning only Japan and China, whereas in fact it has roots running back almost a hundred years and extending to Europe and North America. It is the latest phase of an old struggle and can be understood only in its setting.

This struggle has two aspects, which are interrelated. The first is between China and all the Powers which have appropriated parts of its territory, acquired special privileges on its soil, and otherwise nullified its sovereignty. The issue is whether China will regain its independence or remain the spoils of high politics. The second is among those Powers for the exclusive right to dominate China. The stake is the profits from China's material development.

The first is of recent origin, dating only from the advent of nationalism in the East as one of the by-products of the World War. Seven years ago China was aiming at England mainly, and in less degree at the other Western Powers. Three years ago it was directing its efforts against Russia and more recent against Japan; for Japan had Manchuria, the most serious derogation on China's sovereignty. Inflamed by the new fires of nationalism, China sought to recover Manchuria. To Japan Manchuria is the fruit of its growth since it came to power, a source of future economic expansion, an investment of a billion dollars, and a symbol of imperial grandeur; and it means to retain it. Furthermore, Manchuria is its piece in the game of world politics. And though the American State Department, the League Assembly, and the Lytton report may forget the second aspect of the struggle in the Far East, Japan does not. The immediate issue is whether China's nationalism is to succeed. Either the great Powers must yield their fruits of aggression, as Mr. Stimson described them when talking only of Japan, or they must suppress China by force. The issue is clear and cannot be evaded whenever China presses it. Japan elected to use force, hence the conflict of 1932. So did Soviet Russia in 1929, when it used force to recover the Chinese Eastern railway in North Manchuria, which China had sought to restore to its own sovereignty. The Western Powers have not been in a position since 1918 to levy force on the other side of the world. To Japan this issue is subordinate. It is not thinking of China and Manchuria alone. It is thinking of Great Britain and France and Russia and the United States—mainly of the United States.

For Japan the question is not so simple as whether it shall keep Manchuria or China shall have it back. It is whether Japan shall keep Manchuria or China shall have it back or some other Power shall take it. The Japanese came to their second maturity in the harsh and ugly world of the end of the nineteenth century, a world in which the strong took what they could wherever they could. Japan was itself for a generation the victim of the same process to which China was subject, and if it escaped China's fate, the explanation is partly in its own miraculous effort but mainly in the happy accident that it was near China and China was the bigger prize. To the rival aspirants for Eastern empire Japan was by comparison small pickings. Moreover, Japan watched the relentless approach of the dismemberment of China —until given pause by the outbreak of the World War —knowing that whatever Power appropriated the largest share would have a weapon against Japan itself. Out of the fear begotten by that threat it had to fight Russia in 1904. A definite psychology was formed in the mind of the Japanese. They cannot believe that relinquishment of Manchuria necessarily means its retention by China. They cannot believe that 1914 was more than an interruption. And they may be right. It may be that a new international ethic was born of the lessons of the War and that the race for empire has been abandoned in the East; and it may be that the great Powers are only winded and that when they recover their wind the race will be resumed, each spurred now by the redoubled need for foreign markets. If the latter be true, then obviously it would be fatal for Japan not to take advantage of their exhaustion and consolidate its position of mastery when it can. And thus may be explained the motives of Japan's aggressive policy since the Twenty-one Demands of 1915 and its obduracy before world opinion since 1931. Thus may be explained the failure of the League's intervention into the Manchuria conflict and Japan's rejection of the Lytton report.

The Underlying Causes

The League did not fail, however. It did not try. From the first hastily convoked meeting of the Council to the formal debates on the Lytton report it never took cognizance of considerations such as have just been outlined. And without facing them any attempt to deal with the Far East was unreal. It did not touch the root causes of the conflict it was trying to stop. It dealt only with effects. To have gone to the underlying causes might have been unpleasant, since it would have put others besides Japan on the defensive; but without doing so there was no hope of restoring peace in the Far East. The conflict could not be prevented or stopped, because it had been set by the operation of the causes. At the best this particular incident could be arrested, and the basic conflict left to be resumed by a similar incident later. As it happened, not even the incident was arrested. Japan proceeded according to plan, absorbed Manchuria, and set up a fictive state called Manchukuo as a transition to eventual annexation. The incident could be called closed except for the entrance of one factor—the American government. The United States intervened.

II

When the balance of all the forces working on history in the Far East is taken, the resultant will be found to be the definitive entry of the United States into

the East. The United States has not only intervened but made unequivocal commitments and thereby, with or without deliberate intent, moved to a new position in world affairs. The pronouncement of the American government with reference to Manchuria, so glibly hailed by liberals, will constitute, unless revoked, a pledge and policy no less binding than the Monroe Doctrine but infinitely harder to effectuate. They will embroil us in the most inflammable area in the world; make us the protagonist of the *status quo* in a region where the *status quo* is inherently unstable; enroll us as a partisan in a congeries of crusty international feuds, and, unless revoked, will have a more positive influence on the course of our history than the Monroe Doctrine, since they concern a part of the world more contested than South America and state a position less easy to defend. And of this fact the American people remain singularly unaware and wholly uncritical

Mr. Stimson, as Secretary of State, has formally announced, not once but twice, that the American government does not recognize what has taken place in Manchuria. He has said that the American government will not recognize political changes brought about by force in contravention of the Kellogg Pact, and by more than inference has so classified the changes in Manchuria. In his studied words before the Council on Foreign Relations in New York he explicitly characterized the formation of the new state of Manchukuo under the ægis of Japan as "fruits of aggression." Mr. Stimson has not said, however, how the American government will implement its declaration.

Unfortunately the occasion will arise when this will have to be determined. It cannot be evaded. Either all the events since September, 1931, are nullified and Manchuria returns to the status it then occupied or Manchuria remains Manchukuo, a fiction for Japanese hegemony. The American government says Manchuria is still a part of China; Japan says it is Manchukuo, an independent state under Japanese advisers. There is no possibility of evasion or compromise. It must be one or the other, and the concrete test will come. There will be questions of trade rights, railway rights, tariffs, taxation, consular jurisdiction, rights of foreign residents, military defense. To what authority shall consular representatives be accredited Suppose new tariffs are introduced penalizing American products, or new railway regulations established giving virtually monopolistic preference to Japanese shipments, or restrictions laid on foreign business to the disadvantage of all except the Japanese. Either of these is in accordance with Japanese practice in territories which come under Japan's control. There need be no illusion on one score. If there is to be an Open Door in Manchuria henceforth it will be open to Japan only. Or, suppose there is a personal clash between Japanese and Americans in Manchuria and a settlement is to be adjudicated. By whom will it be There will be friction, at the best; there will be incidents, and the concrete test will come. Then either Japan will yield or America will yield or they will go to war.

Japan Ready to Fight

Saving only the possibility of an economic catastrophe, Japan will not yield. That can be said with dogmatic certainty. Since Japan won South Manchuria from Russia there has been no time when it has not stood ready to fight to extinction to defend its position. On that point there is no division within Japan. There are no Japanese who would not support the government on Manchuria. The so-called Japanese liberals, of whom so much is made by certain elements in America, are a creation of the imagination of finely tempered but innocent Americans who go junketing about the world on good-will tours and believe what they hear at banquets and stage-set laymen's conferences. As we understand the word liberal, there are few Japanese liberals, if any. Such as are liberal are without influence. Those commonly designated as liberal are semi-official apologists. The Japanese people will support their government on Manchuria. Against the United States they will support it on anything.

For the United States it will be awkward to yield. For one thing, its prestige is now engaged. More important, the American government has not acted out of caprice or impulse. It has brought into the open a tendency latent for a generation, though but dimly felt and to the American people unknown. With Europe, with which we have racial kinship, cultural affinity, common historical origins and evolution, and economic relations so close that a bank failure on the Danube causes shoe factories in Missouri to go into bankruptcy—with Europe we will not be "involved." But we leap to defiance over the Manchurian plains of Asia, straight into "entanglement" in an area which has produced more wars in the last hundred years than Europe. Our trade there is trifling, our vested interest negligible, our residents there could be housed in a hotel of moderate size. Why, then? It is not our present material stake that draws us. What is it? Nor is this entirely new. For a generation we have been moving in the same direction. For twenty years we have stood squarely in the way of Japan's aggrandizement. Where Japan has been obstructed, as it has been in China, in Manchuria, and in Siberia, the obstruction has been of American making. Whether or not Japan's grandiose dreams imperil world security is another matter. They do, of course, but that is irrelevant in this connection. The point is that America, four thousand miles away and without any tangible interest at stake, takes upon itself the burden of the defense of the *status quo*, deliberately giving the challenge to a militant, determined Power. Why?

Can it be that America has a manifest destiny? Is there some mystic drive that impels us ever westward? As soon as the first settlements had been cleared we started toward the Pacific, reached it, leaped half across to the Hawaiian Islands, then all the way across to the Philippines. Immediately then our interest in China lifted, and Secretary Hay spoke for the Open Door. Is there in the restless American spirit the unexpressed, inarticulate conviction that Asia is our oyster, ours to open and ours to pluck the pearl? Is that what motivates the otherwise unexplainable determination of our government in the Far East? Have we a destiny, and incidentally do the American people know it, and are they prepared to pay the price that national destinies exact?

These are the questions that are being asked in the Far East and elsewhere, everywhere, in fact, more than in America. Most of all they are being asked in Japan. The cardinal point of reference for Japan's foreign policy is America. China is its theater of action, but toward America is its polarization. When Japanese who think of the political future of their country look out on their world they faced America: *voilà l'ennemi*. It is not the attempted restraint by the League of Nations that has aroused Japanese resentment since the beginning of the Manchurian affair; it is the succession of pronouncements by the American government. It is the League that is held to blame for the strictures on Japanese emanating from Geneva, but America for having goaded the League to action. And in that position there is some reason, for Great Britain and France plainly have come as reluctant judges and more reluctant prosecutors.

America and Japan Deadlocked

America and Japan stand at deadlock on Manchuria. Japan will not yield. If America yields it will be for the first time on any important measure of foreign policy on which it has taken a positive stand, and it will be on something, moreover, that lies deeper than prestige or present material interest. What then? By every historical analogy, by all political precedent, Japan and America are to-day where England and Germany were in, say, 1907. If they drift, if the forces now making are allowed to gather, then by every precedent they will come to the same culmination. If we really are concerned about world peace we shall not worry ourselves about machinery and treaties and conferences and commissions. We shall face this fact and deal with it in time.

III

Concretely, there are two possible courses of action. One is for the America people—not one in five of whom can place Manchuria on a map without search—to ask themselves whether Manchuria means enough to them to risk their fortunes, their future, and the lives of their sons of its disposition. And more is involved than a single war. America would then be caught in a welter of rivalries in what would be worse than the Balkans and from which a succession of wars would result. For no one can be so credulous as to believe that if America should go to war with Japan over Manchuria and win—as it will, by reason of greater economic resources, though only after a long war—it will then return Manchuria to China as before 1931. Instead, it will keep hegemony over Manchuria itself. It will have to; and it

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will want to. And it will inherit all the resentments, jealousies, and hostilities now Japan's. If the American people believe that Manchuria means enough for them to be willing to face this prospect, they will let their government proceed on its course and stand behind it, as the Japanese people do theirs. If not, they will consolidate public opinion to bring pressure on their government to withdraw from positions which expose them to risks they are unwilling to take. But this is a counsel of perfection —or of despair. There is no instrument by which democracies can control their foreign affairs. The public does not initiate or deliberate and then give its government mandates for action. Men in governments make commitments, and then it is a point of honor as well as duty to stand by the government. None asks then whether the individuals or groups in office made their commitments with wisdom and with the consent of the governed. By then the hostage of patriotism has been given.

The second course of action is to do as the League of Nations did not attempt to do. That is for the great Powers to face the causes of conflict in the Far East and eradicate them. Fundamentally there is no other course. To deal with individual incidents like the present one in Manchuria is futile, even if successful, for there will be others like it. Manchuria is only one phase of a disorder in the Far East so deep-seated as to be organic. That disorder has been produced by at least fifty years of competitive aggression on China by the great nations. In the lust for imperial power which intoxicated the Western world in the second half of the nineteenth century and plunged it into orgies of conquest in Africa and Asia, China was marked out for spoliation. But there were many rivals for the spoils and they could neither agree on a division nor eliminate one another. All the great Powers sparred, and Russia and Japan fought it out. Later the fighting was transferred to the arena of Europe, and the rivalry in the Far East became somewhat subdued, although with Japan and the United States feeling each other out and Russia keeping watchful scrutiny. More recently the struggle has taken the form of China's aggression against the aggressors to recover its indepence. Japan and China have just fought over that issue, Russia and China fought in 1929, and Great Britain and France and the United States and the other great Powers still have territory and privileges which China challenges. The Far East must be, then, a breeding ground of wars. There must be a succession of major and minor wars to determine once for all whether or not China is to be dependent or, if not, to which country it shall be subject.

No Peace Unless Ambitions Are Slaked

There can be no peace in the Far East so long as there are rival ambitions for mastery of China. There can be no peace unless those ambitions are slaked or renounced. The first can come only as the consummation of a succession of wars. There is no alternative but the second. What we can do constructively is not wait for the next eruption and then attempt to deal with it isolated from the conditions which gave rise to it, but act in advance by way of prevention. If our desire for peace is truthfully measured by the implications of the Covenant of the League and the Kellogg Pact, the Powers will formally meet and lay down the foundations of peace in the Far East by first tearing down the international system built up since relations were established with China in 1842. They will do more than indite amiable generalities of self-denying ordinances as they did at the Washington Conference. They will implement them. They will give tokens of good faith. The conflict in the Far East turns on China's struggle against the Powers to regain its independence and the existence in China of rival nationalistic outposts of aggression. Each nation wants as much as any other; none will yield anything lest it handicap itself against the others. The whole conflict in both its phases can be ended only by removing the outposts, by giving up fruits of aggression: not just the fruits of aggression since 1931, since that is to penalize Japan alone, but all since 1842. The relations of the great Powers with China will thereafter be exclusively those of trading nations, the relations between England and France or between America and Italy. Such wealth as is to inure to the strong and efficient in dealing with China will come from trade with China on the basis of normal competition. In short, China will be eliminated as a spoils-ground, as an arena for the diplomatic fencing which is a prelude to the larger maneuvers of armies. This will not be for China's sake. It will have no reference to China's advantage or disadvantage. It will be a measure of self-protection, a measure to avert self-destruction in war by removing the grounds on which each must take the offensive in defense.

Is this impractical? It may be; but if so, then peace is impractical, then it is useless to go through the mummery of League Assemblies and the solemnities of exchanging anti-war treaties and the rhetoric of disarmament meetings. Then it is useless to discuss disarmament; it is foolish even, because if it is impractical to uproot the conditions which must inevitably produce wars then it is the most rudimentary caution to be prepared for defense. If it is impractical, because to give up our concessions, rights, and privileges in China would cause at least a temporary loss of trade, as indeed it would, how much is the loss from wars? Are wars less costly?

It will be said that Japan cannot be induced to renounce anything, least of all now, when it has at last closed its grip on the prize which it has sought for twenty-five years. That is true. But at any rate Japan's primary motive for aggrandizement on the Asiatic continent, its fear that others will entrench themselves, will be left groundless, an indispensable condition to moderating Japan's aggressiveness. Then we can weaken the case of the Japanese military clique in its appeal to the Japanese people for support. It will not be able to plead self-defense so convincingly. We shall be in position to bring pressure to bear on Japan with greater chance of success. At least we shall give evidence of good faith. The attitude of the Western Powers now is that of invoking the moral law against Japan alone. Other nations may keep what they were able to take. Japan is skeptical, and with reason. If it was obdurate at Geneva, that was because it is moved by a profound skepticism of the motives of other nations, also with reason. It has heard lofty enunciations of the new era; it has seen no signs. Why should it willingly offer itself as the first to make renunciation? The psychology of fear must first be bred out of Japan—the psychology of fear and the aggressiveness which fear begets. Japan's state of mind is that of a small nation which miraculously escaped destruction and now must flaunt its might, if only for its own satisfaction. The fear is still justified. The burden of proof is on the Western Powers. Japan cannot be moved until first it is convinced that other Powers have no ambitions in the Far East. Even then a long time will be required, but a beginning will have been made.

A long time will be required in any case. A situation generations in the making cannot be unmade by resolving. But it will take equally long no matter when we begin. Had we honestly faced the causes of international rancors in the Far East at the Washington Conference in 1921 we might have prevented the outbreak in 1931. If we start now, we may not attain the consummation of our hopes until 1951. If we wait until 1941, we shall not attain it until 1961—provided there is not war in the meantime. A long time will be required; also it will be costly. From that, too, there is no escape. The choice is only between loss voluntarily accepted and the loss imposed by the destruction of war. The rampages of the nineteenth-century conquerors must be paid for. Before there can be a new international society there must be a drastic writing off of old social losses.

There is no easy road to peace. The liberal reliance on treaties and international machinery is part of the deep-seated American faith in mechanical contrivances in all human situations. Peace cannot be had by wishing. If we want peace we must pay for it. We may not get it then. The momentum for war in the East, long gathered, is swift and powerful. But if we get peace at all, it will be only by paying. For America just now the stake is big and worth a risk.

Another Japanese Soldier Arrested for Thievery

The *Japan Advertiser* on Feb. 16 published an account of another Japanese soldier being arrested for theft in Tokyo. According to the report, the soldier, Yonezo Ishijima, who had served in the Manchurian campaign and been twice wounded, entered the home of a Japanese woman in Tokyo and by threats forced her to hand over Yen 18 and a gold ring. While in the army he had held the rank of a first-class private and had been honorably discharged. A somewhat similar case was referred to in *The Review* last week, the previous incident occurring at Osaka. The culprit in this instance had served in the campaign at Shanghai last year.

Preparing for "The New Deal in America"

BY ANNE O'HARE McCORMICK

(New York Times Magazine, Jan. 15)

THE centre of political pressure in the United States has shifted from Washington to New York. The swiftly moving finger of the spotlight already points away from the retiring President and blazes on his successor. Mr. Hoover has to thunder at Congress to make himself heard—and would have to use more thunder than he generates to make himself heeded. For the first time in more than four years he traveled South in the comparative obscurity of the inside pages of the newspapers and was able to fish as he likes to fish—in a publicity so muted and perfunctory that to one accustomed to the glare of the White House it must have seemed like utter privacy.

The eyes and ears of the nation are now turned on the President-to-be. The bombardment of big guns and little guns, the pull and pressure, the swarms of people, asking, offering, selling, buying, collecting political debts, advising, informing, recommending—all the clamor and encampment attending the rise of a new power has begun.

Ever since he turned over the Governorship to Mr. Lehman and returned to New York, for two months a nominal private citizen, Mr. Roosevelt has been like a man besieged in his own house. For two weeks now he has been seeing callers at the rate of forty or fifty a day. Most of these five and ten-minute appointments were made weeks ago, and, except for a few delegations and his conference with the Democratic leaders of Congress, the interviews are with individuals, gathering from everywhere to squeeze a word in before the Presidential slate is completely covered.

The conversations will continue without interruption during the fortnight Mr. Roosevelt will spend at Warm Springs, but there they will be more leisurely and only with those summoned for consultation. In February he will board a boat and escape for ten days, unaccompanied by a politician, a reporter or a typewriter. For ten days he will be alone, "to rest and think," he says, but practically every moment of this two months of intensive preparation for the hardest job in the world will be passed in conferences.

Weighty Problems

Add to this pressure the weight and urgency of the problems into which the new President must plunge on the very day he assumes office, the expectations and anxieties of millions of citizens, converging on him as palpably as visible crowds. He has been swept into power in the depths of an unprecedented, almost insoluble, crisis. He inherits a government deeply in debt, deeply involved in about all the difficulties governments are heir to. He assumes leadership of the greatest democracy at the moment of severest strain and test of the democratic system. He steps out upon the world stage in a magnificent stellar rôle, but at the zero hour when all the scenery is being shifted and all the actors are improvising new lines or mumbling old ones in an obvious effort to keep the performance going while they look around wildly for a prompter and a cue.

Of the thirty-one Presidents who have preceded the second Roosevelt, probably only three have had to meet problems comparable with his. Under Washington the nation was created, under Lincoln it was held together at heavy cost, under Wilson it was transformed into a world power. But these choices, fateful as they were, were clear and simple compared with the decisions required of the American President in 1933.

Even while we rode the crest of the wave four years ago we had a dim apprehension that the tasks of government had become too confusing and complex for the old political laissez-faire. We elected an engineer to devise a new order, to organize a prosperity we felt to be perpetual but a little out of plumb, like the Tower of Pisa. Then it did not matter much, however; the nation had no such desperate concern in the Hoover policies as it exhibits now in Roosevelt's. The interest in the new administration is not civic only, but personal. In the suspense with which the country waits for the outlines of the "new deal" you perceive how helpless the average citizen feels himself in the modern world. With something of a shock you realize how, even in America—perhaps most of all in America—dependence on government has become universal.

Not only is the President-elect the first Democrat in the White House for twelve years, and, therefore, a symbol of change to millions yearning for any kind of change, but he is actually the biggest potential employer at a time when jobs are fiercely competed for and safe government jobs are at a high premium. To some he represents the last hope of democracy, to others the prelude to socialism, but he embodies some form of relief to all—the hungry and the thirsty, those in business and those out of employment, the mortgaged and the mortgageholders, the farmer and the factory worker, debtors abroad and debtors at home; and that means everybody in a population fed on credit and sheltered, equipped and transported on the deferred-payment plan.

Of all this Mr. Roosevelt is perfectly aware. He sees clearly the overwhelming magnitude and complexity of the tasks ahead. More, he recognizes that time presses, that the Executive in an emergency has to move quickly. In his view, a diagnosis of the national situation indicates the necessity of immediate and drastic remedies. He has not announced his program and probably will not announce it before his inauguration. In his conference with the Congressional leaders he acted in his capacity as head of the party rather than as President-elect, approving and discussing interim measures, but not presiding or dictating.

He is pledged to balancing the Federal budget, including rigorous cuts in the veterans' appropriations. He counts on a large revenue from a beer tax, strongly opposes the sales tax, prefers but does not sponsor an increase and wider spread of the income tax. Beyond that he has not declared himself, but when he does his program may contain surprises for those who interpreted "a new deal" as no more than a good campaign slogan.

Yet at the centre of pressure, in the shadow of the mountains closing in, the next President shows no sign of strain or fear. The prospect before him might well daunt the hardiest spirit, but Mr. Roosevelt faces it calmly. He is cheerful and confident as ever, looks better today than he did at the end of the campaign, and every one who sees him is impressed by his serenity and poise.

This equanimity is a matter of temperament. Mr. Roosevelt is not the worrying kind. He does not lie awake at night mulling over his problems, as Mr. Hoover often does; he boasts that nothing keeps him awake except strong coffee. He does not agonize over decisions. His "yes" and "no" are swift and positive. He proceeds on the theory that the percentage of mistakes in quick decisions is no greater than in long-drawn-out vacillations, and that the effect of decisiveness itself "makes things go," creates confidence.

Is a Sympathetic Listener

To him the Presidency is not a superhuman eminence, but just another and bigger job, which the incumbent must stand up to with all his capacity, but in which he is not alone. In his philosophy the Chief Executive is neither a miracle man nor a ruler shut behind walls of unbreakable glass. He draws strength from the people and expresses as best he can their "common sense," the ideas which at any given time rise to the surface and somehow become personified.

Moreover, to a man who thrives on personal contacts, this crowded and staccato prelude to the Presidenry is rather stimulating than exhausting. To one watching him in action, it is interesting to see how easily he communicates his own cheerfulness. Many of the visitors who fill the reception room in the narrow house in East Sixty-fifth Street are nervous as they wait. They study the prints of old ships which line the walls and rehearse what they have to crowd into a five-minute audience. But almost invariably they come down-stairs satisfied and smiling.

Yet it is safe to assume that the satisfaction arises from their reception and not from any assurances they have received. Mr. Roosevelt gives audience comfortably, in a smoke-filled library, mellow with well-used books and well-worn chairs. He is a sympathetic listener, very friendly and responsive. But he went through a campaign for election without making promises and he is not promising anything now. He has a gift, a great political gift, of saying nothing graciously and "no" so reasonably that the refusal seems almost a mark of confidence.

Chinese Government Railways

Shanghai-Nanking and Shanghai-Hangchow-Ningpo Lines

From Shanghai to Nanking: 311.04 Kilometers

From Shanghai to Hangchow: 189.57 Kilometers

The Shanghai-Nanking Line extends from Shanghai, one of the greatest seaports in the world, to Nanking, the seat of the Nationalist Government of China. Short as it is when compared with the other trunk Lines in China, it serves a rich and densely populated district of preponderant importance, politically, as well as commercially and industrially. The whole Line is dotted over with points of known scenic beauty too numerous to be all mentioned here. Tourists and travellers should utilize the train service of this Line at least to visit Soochow, known as the "Garden City of the Orient," Wusih, the picturesque city on Lake Tai-hu, Chinkiang, the "Gate of the Yangtze River," and Nanking, a city rich in historic remains with the new grand Mausoleum of modern architecture for Dr. Sun Yat Sen, Founder of the Chinese Republic.

The Shanghai-Hangchow-Ningpo Line runs southwestward from Shanghai through a tract of beautiful places. At Lunghwa one will see the famous Pagoda with a long history attached to it; at Sungkiang, the observatory of the French Fathers at the summit of Sha Shan and the grave of General Frederick Ward; at Kashing, the South Lake and the Three Pagodas situated about two miles from the station; and at Hangchow, the present terminus of the Line from Shanghai, the renowned West Lake which called forth highest praise from Marco Polo, with such picturesque surroundings that it has been well called the "Switzerland of China." Tourists! A visit to Hangchow by the comfortable trains of this Line will give you the utmost satisfaction of travel and untold pleasure of sight-seeing.

For further information apply to the Traffic Manager of the two Lines at Shanghai North Station.

Mr. Roosevelt has great faith in the man-to-man approach to any problem. He learns by the conversational method. When he wishes to be informed on a subject, he is likely to send for any one he has heard of who specializes in that subject. If he wants an issue reviewed or a lot of factual material summarized and predigested, he asks some authority to do it for him, not in writing but in talk, so that he can put questions as he goes along. He likes to collect different points of view, and usually summons the "antis" when he has heard the "pros."

He has political and economic advisers, whose advice he values and often takes. Like Mr. Hoover, he enjoys contacts with younger men, professors such as Moley, Tugwell, Berle and others, whom he uses to collect information and assist in the preparation of his speeches. The "brain trust," however, is only a pleasant myth, laughed at by Roosevelt himself and by those reputed to belong to this group of industrious cerebrators.

In point of fact, during the past few months he has consulted not a few but hundreds of persons on the questions he considers most urgent—unemployment relief, restoration of the purchasing power of the farm, government economy and taxation, farm and home mortgages, railroads, money and the credit structure, foreign debts and tariffs. He has listened to a vast variety of opinions and modified some of his own. But, expansive though he is, it is characteristic that he does not often express his own views at these discussions. He consults without confiding in the consultants.

As President, undoubtedly, he will continue this practice of consultation. Congress, even the special session he hopes to avoid holds no terrors for him, for the reason that he counts heavily on winning its co-operation by keeping in close personal touch with members of both houses. On the thorny issue of war-debts, his natural impulse would be to talk things over, face to face, with representatives of the governments involved. The request for a conference with Secretary Stimson, whether or not the result of the diplomacy of Norman Davis, is an indication of what Roosevelt would have done in the first place if the initiative on the debt discussions had been his.

Favors Informal Pourparlers

A public dialogue by telegraph is not the new President's idea of a conference. He always prefers informal pourparlers. He opposes a commission on the war debts because he knows that formal conferences usually become forms for making speeches for home consumption instead of meetings sincerely working for compromise and agreement. He was an observer at the historic peace negotiations in Paris and as a political realist he knows that open covenants cannot be openly arrived at any more than the work of Congress can be done on the floor instead of in the tedious give-and-take of committee rooms.

Most men who attain the Presidency have a sense of themselves as men of destiny, propelled by fate. The first Roosevelt had a strong faith in his star; Wilson believed himself ordained for a great mission in the world; Hoover felt a "call" to public service. It would not be surprising if the latest President, with his brilliant luck, his potent charm, his keen and happy "hunches," looked back upon his life from the threshold of the White House and saw all his experiences as a long-range preparation for a foreordained event. A Democrat is always justified in regarding himself as the elect of destiny; in the natural course he is never elected at all!

Of course, Mr. Roosevelt does believe in his destiny. Consciously or unconsciously, he sees his career as a process of education for the Presidency. A student of history and government from his youth, member of a political family, he turned to politics in his early manhood as naturally as the poet lisps in numbers He was always fascinated by the lives and State papers of the Presidents, especially the early Presidents, who pioneered in the job and in a pastoral colony drew the framework of a continental republic. There is a good deal of the early American in Roosevelt, the sense of "the tradition," the nostalgia for the good life, free and simple, of our rural past. That is the explanation of his sympathy for the Progressives, Norris, Johnson, La Follette, even Borah. All the Western radicals are early Americans, searching for a kind of liberty forever lost.

The President-to-be studied law, the textbook of government, and practiced it long enough to acquire fluency in argument and precision in the use of words, but not long enough to grow stiff-minded and legalistic.

Life in Washington is not strange to him. For eight years, as Assistant Secretary of the Navy under Wilson, he was part of the Federal Government. He knows how the machine operates, how the bureaucratic mind works. The Washington of to-day is not the Washington of Wilson and the young Roosevelts. It is a capital more monumental in its aspect and in its mind, but its rarified and stratified atmosphere changes little. To go green to Washinvton, with no experience of its peculiar insulation, is as great a disadvantage to a President as it is to go too well seasoned direct from Congress or one of the departments.

For four years Governor Roosevelt presided over the administrative unit next in size and importance to the Federal Government, all of the time against the opposition of a hostile Legislature, all of the time holding the uncertain balance between an East and West of his own, a jealous countryside against the most powerful of cities.

He has not the wide foreign experience of Mr. Hoover or the international spirit of Mr. Wilson. Yet his equipment for handling foreign affairs is much broader than that of most Presidents. Few have traveled as much as Mr. Roosevelt, from his childhood on, and few have enjoyed his social contact with the leaders of political and economic thought in other countries. He spent much time in Europe during the war and the peace conference. He is a constant reader of foreign newspapers and reviews. Thus he is able to understand, if not always to sympathize with, the point of view of other nations. Back in November he said to a distinguished Frenchman visiting in this country: "If France defaults, it will be the fault of the French press, because the French people have never been told the facts regarding the debt to America by their own newspapers." The Frenchman agreed. "You are absolutely right," he said, "but I wonder that you have time to inform yourself on the molding of French opinion."

But these are not the experiences which Mr. Roosevelt himself values most highly as he reviews the record. If you should ask him what best qualifies him for the place he is soon to occupy, he would probably mention two things the onlooker would not think to emphasize. The first is that he lives in the North and in the South and he has campaigned across the country in two national elections.

That is to say that he has experienced America. He has felt the unity and variety, the immensity and power of the land he is called upon to govern. He has seen how the social pattern changed almost beyond recognition between 1920 and 1932. He has met people in all sections. The States are real to him, living places and not political divisions good for so many electoral votes. He remembers how the farmers of Iowa live, the cotton pickers of Georgia, the fruit growers in the Santa Clara Valley. To know the country so that you can never forget it in Washington is his conception of the elementary course in the education of a President.

Had Had Excellent Training

Next to that schooling he places the terms he served as a legislator. He used say in Albany that what best prepared him for the executive office was the fact that he knew and could sympathize with the legislative point of view. There is a natural difference in emphasis between the representative who is out to serve his constituency and the representative who has to defend the whole people from the claims of any constituency; to have served in both capacities should be required of all legislators if that were possible, in Mr. Roosevelt's view; at least it should be compulsory for executives.

It is because he feels for Congress that he believes, perhaps too blithely, that there will be peace between the two powers during his administration. He goes far to establish peace by his shrewd suggestion to the Congressional leaders that since it is almost impossible for the representatives of a specific district representing special interests to put economies into effect, in their own interests they would be wise to give him a temporary grant of broad powers so that the sole onus of locally unpopular measures should fall on him.

President Roosevelt will be in a position to assume broad executive powers. In the next Congress, as distinct from the present assembly, which he is always careful to explain is not his, he will have majorities in both chambers and a host of new members and a host of new members carried into office by his landslide. He will announce at once, it is predicted, a comprehensive emergency program which will have strong Congressional backing whether the Legislature is in session or not. Even President Hoover, whose relations with Congress

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were strained from the beginning, had no difficulty in putting through emergency measures; no legislator would be brave enough, in the present temper of the country, to stand against any experiment that held out a promise of recovery.

As he approaches his inauguration, Mr. Roosevelt inclines more and more to lead his party and more and more to lean on the support of his party. When he says "we" today he does not mean his personal advisers but the party councils. If he should put a Progressive in his Cabinet, for which the prime qualifications are "intelligence and loyalty," it would be because he is extending the party boundaries to take in all the liberals, not because he does not count heavily on Democratic solidarity.

He will need to count on all the assets he can muster, and he knows it. Optimism is a magnificent quality in the President in a crisis, like the courage of a great captain riding into a storm, but among admirers as well as critics are some who regard Mr. Roosevelt's confident poise a little uneasily. They wonder if difficulties will be as easy to negotiate and people as amenable to reason and persuasion as he seems to imagine. In his presence solutions seem simple enough. He has a way of reducing the most intricate problems to elementary sums which any one could work out. There is danger in this oversimplification, but perhaps there is also design.

Mr. Roosevelt believes that one of the elements in the present confusion of the world is the departure from elementary principles and a fuzzy-minded tendency to make things more complex than they really are. People despair when things tangle up on them, he says, and they are lost in a maze. His conception of the function of statesmanship is to simplify government and give the citizen a clear sense of direction, well-marked political and social thoroughfares, so that he knows where he is going when he makes a turn.

As an instance of the tendency to needless complication he points out the number of agencies dealing independently, often at cross-purposes, with the same problem. Eight different Federal agencies, for example, are empowered to extend credit to farmers. No two have the same policy and some pull in opposite directions. The result is confusion, aggravation of an already dangerous situation.

The first task of an efficient government should be to consolidate these eight agencies into one, or at most two, in some central place, and then and there to survey the whole system of farm mortgages as a basis for deciding whether or not there is need for more comprehensive legislation on the subject. Most public questions are treated in the same manner, phase by phase, sporadically, instead of as a whole, so that the picture we see is an unassembled jigsaw puzzle, which is complex only because it has been laboriously snipped into unrelated bits; put together, usually it is a very simple and familiar scene.

Surveys imply commissions, and the Roosevelt administration, like that of Mr. Hoover, though perhaps on a more modest scale, will have its quota of commissions. The new President, however, does not believe in commissions unless they result in definite recommendations for action, or in appointing them unless the recommendations are put into effect. And the more immediate problems cannot wait for commissions. "We must," he says, "be ready to go!"

Whatever lies behind Mr. Roosevelt's durable smile, be sure it is not political naiveté. He simplifies, but his personality is as complex as that of his predecessor's, and much more adroit. For we are witnessing the return to power of the political mind. Mr. Roosevelt has been trained for the Presidency by a career predominantly political. All his life he has dealt with political facts, which are people, human reactions. He goes to the very door of the White House finding out what people think, what they know, what they want. The approach to the "new deal," in a word, is by way of one of the oldest avenues of democracy.

A United China to Meet the Japanese Invasion

BY PAUL K. WHANG (汪仲芳)

WHILE the battle of worde between the Chinese and Japanese delegates in Geneva has drawn to a close, the battle of arms between the Chinese and Japanese forces in Jehol has commenced. Since the fatal 18th of September, 1931, it has become the fashion that every battle of words has been closely followed by a battle of arms, and the Japanese, irrespective of the international appeals, have persistently and relentlessly pursued their policy of conquering the mainland of Asia. The gentlemen in Geneva have acknowledged their inability to check Japanese aggressions, but, as a matter of formality, they have passed resolution after resolution, and made recommendation after recommendation. The situation has been permitted to come to such a point that the world has become tired of this protracted dispute and has lost interest in the new developments of the Eastern crisis.

In the battle of words, the Chinese so far have been able to have their case upheld by the League of Nations. While some of the Big Powers may have their reasons to guard themselves not to incur the displeasure of the Japanese, they, however, can not totally ignore the international engagements and commitments without prejudicing their own interests. The draft report of the Committee of Nineteen had just been published and is considered as favorable to the Chinese. In spite of the eloquence of Yosuke Matsuoka, the Japanese have failed to convince the world of the justice of their claim to protect their "special rights in Manchuria," and have now been faced with no alternative but to threaten to withdraw from the League as a final measure to bully the League into their favor.

That Japan should choose to withdraw from the League is a matter which should occasion us neither surprise nor regret. It should cause us no surprise, because it has long been heralded and the world has been prepared for it. Neither should it cause us any regret, because her presence has not made this machinery of peace any more effective, and therefore her withdrawal will not make it any more ineffective. Being condemned by the whole world and with a guilty conscience, she can not be mourned but welcomed, because the League minus an international robber may become a better and more effective organ than it is now.

China Won a Moral Victory

China has indeed won a moral victory in Geneva, but the moral victory will not enable her to recover the lost territories and to keep Jehol from the Japanese invasion. At the long last, it seems that all the high government officials have discovered that China must fight her own battle. Some ideas may be gathered from the public statements of several outstanding political figures in regard to their attitude toward the present situation.

Gen. Chiang Kai-shek, Chairman of the Military Affairs Commission, is said to be fully determined to resist Japan at any cost. Gen Ho Ying-ching, Minister of War, has been credited with the statement that China was ready to make any sacrifice to resist the Japanese invasion and to struggle for her national existence. T. V. Soong, Minister of Finance and Acting President of the Executive Yuan, in his circular appeal to the armed forces defending Jehol, besides assuring them of the support of the whole nation and urging them to fight for their Fatherland, said, "The whole nation has now realized that the only way to deal with the enemy is by force."

Even Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, a firm believer in the policy of non-resistance, in the circular telegram jointly issued by twenty-seven military leaders headed by the Young Marshal himself, advocated that China must rise up in arms for resistance and self-preservation against the aggressor; he also declared that the recovery of lost Manchuria had been a long-outstanding debt he owed to the nation and he fully decided to throw himself and all the forces at his disposal into the task. One may regret to say that the Young Marshal should make such a war-cry, and lose his complete faith in the policy of non-resistance. Possibly being pressed into the last corner, he can not maintain his own existence without fighting.

War in Jehol Was Inevitable

Therefore the war in Jehol was inevitable. The Japanese are determined to incorporate it as a part and parcel of the so-called "Manchukuo," while the Chinese can not afford to give it up without impairing their national existence. Both massed their troops and are engaged in a war which will make the Shanghai "War" pale into insignificance. Gen. Tang Yu-ling, Chairman of Jehol province, has been compelled to come down from the fence and throw in his lot with Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, when he has become a *persona non grata* with the "Manchukuo" government. It is indeed regrettable that an aged man like Gen. Tang can not yet live in peace and enjoy his ill-gotten wealth for the rest of his life.

The whole of China is now overcharged with war atmosphere and its people are feverishly preparing for the impending big clash. The soldiers and volunteers at the front are reported as being in a high morale and are ready to shed their blood for defending every inch of their Fatherland. The bankers in North China have promised their financial assistance to the war loans which are needed for fighting the Japanese. Doctors and nurses from different parts of the country have rushed to the North to volunteer their service to look after the wounded warriors. Generous contributions either in kind or in money have been spontaneously made by the Chinese at home and abroad to buy comforts for the defenders. Never in history have the Chinese people throughout the country stood as one man to deal with a national crisis.

As usual, the Japanese have predicted that they will march to Chengteh, the capital of Jehol, within one week. Possibly they will reach their destination even sooner, if they meet no hindrance on their march. But if the defenders of Jehol have the same determination and mettle as the 19th Route Army and can make the best use of the mountainous regions to defend their positions. the Japanese may find that the annexation of Jehol will be much harder than the capture of Shanghai, and the price for the adventure may be too costly for the tottering Island Empire to pay.

We, of course, are not so vain as to expect our defenders to check effectively the advance of the Japanese forces which are armed with much better equipments, and to keep Jehol intact indefinitely in face of the combined attacks of aerial and land forces. But it is our fervent hope that they will resist as much as they can, and will not yield one inch of our territory without making our enemy pay a heavy price.

The Possibility of a Blockade

It is time for the Chinese military leaders to realize that the present war is not a war between Gen. Tang Yu-ling or Marshal Chang Hsueh-laing and the Japanese, nor is it a regional war confined to Jehol. But it is a war between China and Japan. Jehol is our gateway, and its occupation by our enemy will expose North China to danger. Moreover, if the defenders can manage to hold the Japanese invaders in check for one month or longer, it is a foregone conclusion that the Japanese will bring pressure upon China by either invading or blockading China's coast cities so as to break down China's defense. In that case, the whole of China will be more or less affected.

Therefore in face of the present crisis and future possibilities, all the military leaders should pull themselves together to share the joint responsibility of resisting the Japanese invasion and defending China's coast regions. In the past the government's policy of non-resistance may have been a cause which has kept all the political and military leaders from coming into a united stand. But now since the government has already made it clear that it is determined to resist, there is really no reason why an effective unification not only in name but in fact also can not be successfully achieved.

The leaders of South China, as reported by Gen. Huang Shao-hsiung, Minister of Interior, who has just returned from his trip to the South, have all pledged their fullest support to the Central Government upon learning the government's determination to resist further Japanese aggressions. Gen. Yen Hsi-shan, who has lived in retirement since the Yen-Feng Coup, has been also quoted as having promised the representative of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang to render him material assistance in the resistance against the Japanese attack on Jehol. Gen. Feng Yu-hsiang, who has long advocated armed resistance against the Japanese, will be satisfied with the present stand of the government. Of equal significance is the attitude of Marshal Tuan Chi-jui, the aged leader of the Anfu Clique, whose sojourn at Shanghai has apparently frustrated the Japanese intrigue to utilize him as their puppet.

Thus for the first time in many years, all the political factions of China have come together to present a united front against a common enemy. But deeds speak louder than words. The gravity of the crisis having come to such a pass, there is no time to engage in idle talk. It is our hope that all our political and military leaders will not merely indulge in making empty promises, but will act upon them without hesitation. We shall be more than satisfied, if from the present crisis, we can emerge as a united country.

Shanghai, March 1, 1933.

64-032

Britain Places an Embargo on Arms Shipments to Far East

Considerable discussion has taken place in American, British and Chinese circles recently concerning the shipment of arms to the Far East. There had been some talk both in the United States and England of stopping the export of arms and ammunition to the Far East, but Chinese opinion on this point is that such a prohibition is more of a benefit to Japan than to China, as Japan has already a large stock on hand or is in a position to manufacture what she needs, whereas China is not.

Recent dispatches in American papers stated that both China and Japan are purchasing war supplies in the United States, China principally purchasing airplanes and Japan buying much cotton and scrap iron for the manufacture of munitions. From December 1 to Jan. 15 the United States received a total of $7,200,000 from Japan and $8,477,000 from China for war supplies.

So far as supplies from England are concerned, Lord Lytton in a speech Feb. 23 said there should be no difficulty in stopping the export of arms. Lord Lytton added that it was certainly criminal for the government of a state which was a member of the League of Nations, to allow its nationals to continue selling arms to a country so that it might carry on a war, which was said to be unjust.

Sir John Simon, British Foreign Secretary, announced Feb. 27 that the Government had decided as from that date that it would not authorise licenses for the export either to China or Japan of any of the articles mentioned in the Arms Prohibition Order of 1931. The embargo includes all kinds of war supplies including airplanes. He added, however, that the embargo would not apply to existing contracts, which had to be respected.

Japanese reaction to the British embargo was that as Great Britain had thus far acted alone, she has made a truly noble but futile gesture, since there was nothing to prevent the combatants placing orders with other countries at Britain's expense.

A Washington telegram, Feb. 27, stated that no action would be taken on President Hoover's proposal to place an embargo on the export of arms to nations threatening war, during the present session of the House of Representatives. The Democrats on that date blocked any action until the House reassembles for its next session. Senator Borah declared himself opposed to following Britain's lead on the embargo question.

Soviets Watch Japanese Advance with Anxious Eyes

Strong articles on the Far East appeared in the leading Soviet papers in Moscow Feb 23 while the Kremlin watched the Japanese action in Jehol with the closest attention. Soviet officials are well aware, although it is not considered a threat, that some Japanese political and military leaders have openly stressed in the Japanese press the necessity of a war with Russia, and Russia views the Japanese refusal to sign a nonaggression pact as an "alarming circumstance."

The Soviet newspaper *Pravda* in a special edition commemorating the 15th anniversary of the foundation of the Red Army, emphasized the danger of an attack on the Soviet by capitalist nations and the menace in the Far East.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party under the leadership of Stalin has already issued a caution on the danger of an attack by "enemies beyond our borders who continue to arm themselves and are preparing to stretch murderous hands towards the Soviet frontier."

Singapore Chinese Show Great Interest in Homeland

The general meeting of the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce was held Feb. 25, Li Chin-seng presiding.

Mr. Li said that nearly half a million dollars had been raised by the Special Committee for the relief of victims of flood, Communists and the war in North China, the major portion having been sent for the benefit of the sufferers from the North-eastern Provinces. Another half million had been sent by individuals from the Straits Settlements and the Malay States. Never in the history of Malaya did the Chinese show so much concern about the welfare of their motherland as was shown during the present national crists, Mr. Li said.

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Franklin Delano Roosevelt, 32nd President of the United States

FRANKLIN Delano Roosevelt, who succeeds Herbert Hoover, as president of the United States March 4 is the thirty-second incumbent of that office.

The *Associated Press* in a recent dispatch stated that he brings something of the atmosphere and outlook of youth to the office. It is to be discerned in his voice and his buoyant temperament, his smiling approach to most of the problems of life, his eagerness to have a part in the active, stirring current of life and of public service—an eagerness that overrode even the handicap of infantile paralysis when it fell upon him in mid-career.

Mr. Roosevelt will not be the youngest man to be entrusted with the presidency. That honor goes to his distinguished fifth cousin, Theodore Roosevelt, who was 42 when he was inducted into office at the death of President McKinley.

Franklin Roosevelt will be little more than entered on his fifty-first year when he is inaugurated. Eleven of the thirty men who have preceded him in that high office—Tyler, Polk, Fillmore, Pierce, Grant, Garfield, Arthur, Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, Taft and Coolidge—were as young or younger when they took office. Yet this democratic Roosevelt, despite his physical handicaps, has youthful qualities that will stand him in good stead in the task he faces.

Like his cousin, Franklin Roosevelt, will bring to the White House an atmosphere of family life it has not known since the days of that other Roosevelt. His own children are grown men and women, rearing families of their own except for the two youngest lads, who are well in their teens.

The White House itself is an old story both to the new President and to Mrs. Roosevelt. They knew it long ago, when she, herself a Roosevelt, was favored among nieces of the late President Roosevelt, and later when they went to Washington to live for nearly eight years during the Wilson administration. Franklin Roosevelt's office as assistant naval secretary was then just across the narrow strip of West Executive Avenue, in the old War, State, Navy building, perhaps 200 yards from the room where he is now to sit as President.

Milestones in the Life of Franklin D. Roosevelt:

January 30, 1882—Born at Hyde Park, N. Y., the son of James and Sara Delano Roosevelt.

June, 1904—Graduated from Harvard with degree of A.B.

September, 1904—Entered Columbia university's law school.

March 17, 1905—Married Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, a fifth cousin.

June, 1907—Admitted to bar.

1910—Elected to New York state senate from Dutchess county.

March 17, 1913—Resigned as state senator to become assistant secretary of the navy by appointment of President Wilson.

July, 1920—Seconded nomination of Alfred E. Smith as aspirant for presidential nomination at San Francisco.

July 1920—Nominated for vice-president on democratic ticket with James M. Cox.

August, 1921—Stricken with infantile paralysis at summer home, Campobello, New Brunswick.

1921-24—In retirement fighting to regain health.

July, 1924—Makes nomination speech for Alfred E. Smith at democratic national convention in New York.

July, 1928—Nominates Alfred E. Smith as presidential candidate of democratic national convention at Houston, Tex.

August, 1928—Nominated for governor by New York state democratic convention.

November 6, 1928—Elected governor of New York.

November 4, 1930—Re-elected governor of New York by plurality of 725,001.

July 1, 1932—Nominated for the presidency by democratic national convention at Chicago.

Nov. 8, 1932—Elected President.

The new President is committed by party platform and personal pledge to a program of wide retrenchment in the cost of federal government to tax-payers. Throughout his nationwide campaigning, Mr. Roosevelt insisted that a program of drastic retrenchment, sufficient to reach a balanced budget was the essential step toward economic recovery. In the course of his swing through the country on the most far-ranging campaign tour of any man elected to the presidency in years, Mr. Roosevelt filled in the outline of his purposes as president with detailed proposals as to many matters. A nine-point program of remedies designed to prevent recurrence of the economic crash marked Mr. Roosevelt's first major address of the campaign, delivered at Columbus, Ohio, in August. This program called for rigid scrutiny and control by the federal government of securities based on interstate commerce, and restriction of the use of reserve bank funds in speculative operations. As a principle of executive policy he pledged himself to avoid even implied government approval of private loans abroad. Among other steps to which the president-elect has committed himself are the substitution of "negotiated tariffs" for the present method of tariff making, American initiative in calling an international silver conference, and the re-establishment of an actual cash surplus in the treasury as the only condition that would warrant consideration of any advance payment of the soldiers' bonus.

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Mrs. Roosevelt—A Charming Hostess

Mrs. Roosevelt is a charming hostess. Her social experience and background include residence in two capitals—Albany, where she presided over the governor's mansion, and Washington, her home during the time her husband served President Wilson as wartime assistant secretary of the navy.

She is no stranger to the White House, once home of her uncle, the late Theodore Roosevelt, and friends expect her knowledge of its social ways to be of value to her in directing it during the next four years. Her reign, they predict, will be one of dignity relieved by the proper measure of informality.

She and Mr. Roosevelt probably will be the only continuous resident members of the family at the White House, friends believe, but often there will be family visitors, especially on holidays.

There are four generations of the family now living. Mrs. James Roosevelt is the President-elect's mother. The children are James Roosevelt, who married Betsey Cushing, daughter of Dr. Harvey Cushing, Boston brain specialist; Elliott Roosevelt, whose wife is the former Betty Donner, daughter of William Donner of Villanova, Pa.; Mrs. Curtis B. Dall, who was Anna Eleanor Roosevelt; John, 16; and Franklin, jr., 18, both students at Groton.

Mr. and Mrs. James Roosevelt have a daughter, Sarah Delano Roosevelt, aged eight months, and Mr. and Mrs. Dall, a daughter. Anna "Sistie" Eleanor, aged 5, and a son, Curtis "Buz-Buz" Roosevelt, aged 2.

Mrs. Roosevelt has political ideas of her own. She believes capital should be put to work to give employment. She founded a furniture shop on the Roosevelt Hyde Park estate to create an industry for local people. She has theories on educational psychology, and so she became part owner and teacher at the Todhunter School for Girls in New York. She was interested in the welfare of the poor, and so she took active part in the work of the Rivington street settlement house in New York. She was deeply interested in child psychology, and so she became the editor of a magazine on children. Though in Washington, she will continue to edit the magazine, on which her daughter, Mrs. Curtis Dall, is her assistant.

***

THE VICE-PRESIDENT

John Nance Garner, the new Vice-President, steps from the office of speaker of the House of Representatives to that of presiding officer of the Senate.

As president of Senate the fiery Texan will rule over a body of only 96 men, who are governed by bans on parliamentary ferocity that may make their deliberations seem quite tame to him. Garner, like Theodore Roosevelt and Gen. Charles Gates Dawes, is a bit more dynamic than the conventional Vice-Presidential type.

The social duties of the Vice-Presidency probably will present the biggest problem for Garner who for years has almost invariably been in bed every night by 9:30.

Garner, 63, is twelve years older than President-elect Roosevelt.

Mrs. Garner, wife of the Vice-President herself insists she is old-fashioned, but as aid to her husband she

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UNDECLARED WAR

By EDWARD BING-SHUEY LEE

WITH FOREWORDS BY

SUN FO, *President, Legislative Yuan*
HU HAN-MIN, *ex-President of Legislative Yuan*
DR. C. T. WANG, *ex-Foreign Minister*
DR. LO WEN-KAN, *Foreign Minister*
DR. C. C. WU, *Former Minister to U.S.A.*
DR. WELLINGTON KOO, *Minister to France*

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Over 200 pages of exchange of notes and other documentary data which serves as invaluable source of information to the student of Far Eastern Affairs

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displays the modern woman's executive ability in office matters. When the Vice-President held office in his younger days in Texas, Mrs. Garner became his secretary and she continued to assist him and handle his correspondence which had become voluminous during the last year. When Mr. Garner went to congress, Mrs. Garner says she might have given up her secretarial work but she found herself so completely interwoven with her husband's political affairs that it was difficult to quit.

Mrs. Garner is a devout Christian. "Religion doesn't amount to anything," she says, "if it is not in every moment of everyday life." The Garners have one son, Tully, and a granddaughter, Genevieve, who is credited with remarkable powers in "bossing" the Vice-President.

President Roosevelt's Cabinet

The following is a complete list of President Roosevelt's cabinet, the full slate having been announced March 1:

Secretary of State—Senator Cordell Hull of Tennessee.

Secretary of the Treasury—William H. Woodin, New York industrialist.

Secretary of War—George M. Dern, former governor of Utah.

Attorney General—Senator Thomas J. Walsh from Montana.

Postmaster General—James A. Farley.

Secretary of the Navy—Senator Claude Swanson from Virginia.

Secretary of the Interior—Harold L. Ickes, a Chicago lawyer.

Secretary of Agriculture—Henry A. Wallace.

Secretary of Commerce—Daniel Roper, who occupied the same post in the Wilson Government.

Secretary of Labor Miss Frances Perkins (in private life Mrs. Paul Wilson).

Soviets Protest Against Brutal Treatment of Prisoners by Manchukuo

The suicide of a Soviet citizen in a Manchukuo prison at Changchun, brought about by the alleged brutal treatment accorded him by the prison authorities, has caused the Soviet Consul-General M. Slavutsky at Harbin, to lodge a strong protest. The prisoner was an engineer by the name of Voronin and, in drawing attention to his case, the Soviet Consul-General pointed out that another Soviet citizen, a man called Vasilieff, had died in prison in Harbin last summer after having been badly treated. Both men were serving sentences on charges of complicity in terroristic plots and M. Slavutsky demanded that all officials responsible for their deaths should be brought to justice. The Manchukuo authorities replied that Vasilieff had died of typhold fever and that Voronin had committed suicide. The charge that Voronin had taken his own life after having been tortured was denied.

Head of Local Communists Surrenders to Police

Sun Chi-min, member of the presidium in the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and concurrently chairman of the organization committee in the party, surrendered himself to the police last week and declared in a press interview given at the Information Bureau of the City Government of Greater Shanghai that henceforward he would be loyal and devoted to the cause of revolution as represented by the Kuomintang Party. He is reported to have said that the present policy of the Chinese Communist Party in diversifying the attention and energy of the government by uprisings in Central China was an unwarranted deviation from its main platform of securing the eventual success of the Chinese revolution. The Chinese Communists, he said, are now doing everything possible to impede all efforts of the Chinese government to resist the Japanese aggression, and as he could not support such a policy, he decided to withdraw.

If Japan Withdraws, from the League

BY L. I. TSOK (戚隆惠)

WHEN Japan first realized the unfavorable turn events in Geneva had taken concerning her case in Manchuria sometime ago and announced her intention to withdraw from membership of that august body, the belief was generally current that the proclamation implied nothing more than a threat, pure and simple, designed to forestall, if possible, any action on the part of the League which Japan considered inimical to her interests involved in the present dispute. But with the unanimous adoption of the report and recommendations of the Committee of Nineteen by the Assembly the issue has become clear. Between the Committee's report and the stand of Japan as outlined in her observations there exists a very wide gap. The task of bridging it is nothing if not herculean, and the likelihood of its being bridged very remote. Threat or no threat, there remains no choice for Japan at the present juncture but to carry through her intimation of resigning her League membership. In fact, the Japanese Cabinet has already arrived at this decision, the only unsettled points being the time and procedure of withdrawal.

Consequences of Secession

A number of questions immediately crops up with reference to Japan's reported secession from the League. How far will Japan's deflection from the League affect future efforts of that international peace organization in attempting a solution of the Far Eastern crisis? Are the invocation of Article XVI of the League Covenant and the application of economic and other sanctions in connection therewith possible, in case Japan persists in her policy of defiance of world public opinion? Should the League be declared to be incompetent to exercise further jurisdiction over the Manchurian dispute by virtue of Japan's withdrawal, are other agencies available to check Japan's wanton violation of international engagements? What about the efficacy of the Briand-Kellogg Anti-War Pact and the Washington Nine-Power Treaty over this matter? And last but not least, if Japan is no longer a Member of the League, should she be allowed to continue to hold to her League Mandated islands in the Pacific? These and other pertinent questions must be answered, although in each case hardly by a definite "yes" or "no."

Japan Has to Serve Two Years' Notice

On the question of withdrawal from the League, the Covenant has the following explicit provision:

"Any Member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal."

This paragraph scarcely needs further elucidation. It is more than evident that Japan has up to this time failed to fulfill not only all her international obligations but also all the obligations under the Covenant. On the contrary, she has manifestly trampled under foot such solemn international undertakings as the Anti-War Pact and the Nine-Power Treaty and disregarded not only the relevant articles of the League Covenant but each and every one of the League's injunctions and recommendations since the League's assumption of authority over the dispute. It means that during the period of two years between the filing of her intention to withdraw and actual and effective withdrawal Japan has to make good all her international obligations as well as obligations under the League. It means that during this intervening period the League continues to exercise jurisdiction over the matter submitted for its verdict. It means, legally speaking, Japan is still exposed to all sanctions under the purview of the League. It means, to use a legal analogy, Japan cannot escape the delivery of judgment and the imposition of penalty upon her crimes by pleading the case of "non-jurisdiction of the court."

Application of Article XVI

If Japan is not permitted to wash her hands clean and run away with her acts of international brigandage unredeemed and with such impunity and ease as by a mere gesture of retirement from the League, if, legally considered, the League retains her authority over the case. and if every possible settlement under Article XV has been exhausted, there appears to be no alternative for the League other than the immediate application of Article XVI. Although China has until now refrained from officially invoking this Article in vindication of her just claims and in the hope that recalcitrant Japan might be brought to terms through measures embodied in Article XV, she has, in fact, pressed for an early enforcement of Article XVI on more than one occasion. The League has delayed in this regard apparently in an effort not to unduly offend the intransigeance of Japan. But now with the open declaration of Japan's attitude towards Geneva matched and strengthened by her military penetration of Jehol, no time is more urgent which calls for the enforcement of the sternest and most practical measures to check the mad course of the intractable aggressor. The League would be doing itself great justice as well as justice to humanity if it should proceed without hesitation to apply Artice XVI, which provides:

"1. Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles XII, XIII or XV, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

"2. It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

"3. The Members of the League agree further that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the Member of the league which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League."

The effectiveness of a universal economic boycott of Japan, not to mention other sanctions, could be easily imagined provided it could be carried out. In the opinion of President Lowell of Harvard University, an economic boycott will not only finish the Manchurian dispute but it will finish Japan. In urging for an economic blockade of Japan, George Lansbury, the British Labor leader, declared recently in a speech:

"If the British Government really wanted Japan to leave China alone, all it had to do was to say to Japan, 'You shall not have one pound of grain, not one hundredweight of raw material and not a single thing to enable you to carry on a war.' If that was done by America, Europe and Britian, Japan would not be able to continue her present policy."

What of the Policy of the United States?

It may be recalled that in the Russo-Chinese quarrel of 1929 over the control of the Chinese Eastern Railway, America openly stepped forward and reminded both belligerents of their obligations under the Kellogg Anti-War Pact. That controversy was not referred to the League because Russia was and still is a non-member of the League. With Japan stepping out of the League, it will be interesting to note what attitude the United States will take as regards the Manchurian conflict, being herself the principal sponsor of the Anti-War Pact and the Nine-Power Agreement and having reiterated her policy of non-recognition of treaties or situations obtained or created by force.

Question of Japanese Retention of Mandated Islands

While Japan may choose to stay in or without the League, the latter may likewise expel any delinquent State from membership, as is stipulated in the following clause:

"Any Member of the League which has violated any Covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a Member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the representatives of all the other Members of the League represented thereon."

In the case of Japan, this clause may be utilized by the League as a saving grace. By invoking this clause the League may declare Japan no longer a Member, thereby shirking all its responsibility over the muddled Manchurian case. But the question immediately arises, What about the League Mandated islands? Can the League force Japan to give them up, in view of her delaration that those are Japan's life line on the sea, as Manchuria is her life line on the land? The test is indeed crucial.

Shanghai, Feb. 27, 1933.

64-038

Liberal British Weekly Predicts Eventual Japanese Failure

The London *Spectator* Feb. 17 stated that the effect of the League of Nations resolution, which the United States will certainly, and Soviet Russia probably, endorse, will be that no government in the world will recognise Manchukuo and no money market will countenance the floating of a Manchukuo loan.

Meanwhile, the paper added, the likelihood of money for Manchukuo being forthcoming from official or private Japanese sources will be small. This emphasizes, it says, the value of one weapon which the League can always bring into play without going to the length of discussing active sanctions.

Meanwhile, the *Spectator* continued, the League clearly cannot be content with voting for the Committee of Nineteen's resolution and then washing its hands of the matter. For the moment, the *Spectator* added, Japan may leave the League and force may prevail in Manchukuo and Jehol, but it seems inevitable that Japan will prove unequal to the adventure. Meanwhile it urged all states to prohibit the export of all munitions to Japan.

Cautious Comment by "The Times"

The London *Times*, in a leading article Feb. 18 characterized the Report of the Committee of Nineteen as temperate, just and well-considered and says that it will stand on record as a deliberate opinion reached by the nations composing the League on a dispute of major importance.

If a wholly new situation is created by violent action on the part of either party, it is conceivable, adds the journal, that the Council may have later to reconsider the whole position. The Report, it says, recommends wide autonomy of a sort which is obviously intended to reserve to Japan more rights than she enjoyed under the old dispensation, to which it is not proposed to revert.

Winston Churchill Shows Friendliness to Japan

Winston Churchill, ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer in Britain's Conservative Government, in a characteristic speech before the anti-Socialist, anti-Communist Union in London Feb. 17 declared flatly that the United States should not urge Britain to quarrel with Japan. "I am told that we must conform to American opinion for which I have great regard," the speaker said, "but it certainly does not lie with the United States who tied up our Navy in trammels of unreasonable treaties to urge us to engage in a quarrel with the Island Power."

The speaker said that Great Britain might disagree with Japan but nevertheless there existed in Great Britain a lasting sentiment and regard for that nation.

"I think the League of Nations would be well advised to have no quarrel with Japan," he continued. The League has a great work to do in Europe, But when you come to the Far East you are asking the League of Nations to attempt a task very remote from its sphere of influence."

The main part of Mr. Churchill's speech was devoted to British policy in India, which he declared to be a flat failure and a carry-over from Laborite policies. He thundered against the "spinelessness" of the tremendous Tory majority which seems willing to accept with closed eyes the socialist program of the former cabinet with the label of a so-called national government.

"What a melancholy abdication of British rights and duties in the Orient," he exclaimed, referring to the government policy in India. "Universal suffrage has been a failure in Europe and now we are ready to apply it to primitive people of 350,000,000 souls divided by terrible religious and radical rivalries, without a common identity and led by a small group of disloyal politicians."

Bandits Menace C.E.R. With Impunity

The situation on the eastern section of the Chinese Eastern Railway is becoming threatening, according to reports received from Habarovsk. Bands of well-armed bandits are stated to be attacking stations on the C.E.R. and railway camps. It is alleged that, in spite of the presence of Japanese forces, the Hunghutze rob stations and railway workers with impunity and, in many cases they destroy the railway track with the object of looting trains. In spite of application to the Manchukuo authorities and to the Japanese staff, no steps have been taken to forestall the attacks or to pursue the Hunghutze.

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Chinese to Send Trade Mission to Moscow

With a view to increasing the trade between China and Soviet Russia, the Ministry of Industries at Nanking formally proposed Feb. 25 to organise a Sino-Soviet Trade Mission, for the purpose of (1) studying ways and means of facilitating the mutual absorption of each other's products, and (2) studying the Five-Year Plan of Soviet Russia for possible application in this country.

According to the Ministry of Industries, the Foreign Office has been requested to notify Moscow formally of these intentions. As soon as approval is received from Moscow, the Mission will leave for Russia, probably in late April or early May. It is predicted that Soviet products will be very popular in China; their prices will compare favorably with American and European goods for one thing. In addition, Soviet products will have a sentimental advertisement, namely, buy goods produced by a nation of workers against the "commercial encroachment of the imperialist Powers."

Faster Schedule to Go into Effect on T.P. Railway

A revised schedule, enabling the railway journey between Pukow and Tientsin to be accomplished in 27 hours, will be enforced on April 1 when the eight new locomotives which have just arrived at Tsingtao from England are put into service on the Tientsin-Pukow Railway.

An express daily passenger service on the eastern section of the Lung-Hai Railway was started March 1. This will connect with trains on the western section of the Line and on the Tientsin-Pukow Railway.

Railway Ministry to Issue Bonds

The Ministry of Railways is now making preparations for the issuance of £1,200,000 railway bonds to meet the expenses involved in the construction of the unfinished section of the Canton-Hankow Railway. The loan will be issued in Chinese currency and the amount will be equivalent to £1,200,000. The loan will be used as security for the advance of £1,200,000 made by the British Boxer Indemnity Fund Commission to the Railway Ministry.

Wu-Han to Install Automatic Telephone System

Wu-Han is to be served by an automatic telephone system. The contract for the conversion from the present manual system has been awarded to the Siemens-China Company of Shanghai. The telephone system in the Wu-Han area now serves approximately 8,500 subscribers of whom 4,000 belong to the Hankow central exchange, 3,000 to the Hankow branch exchange, and 1,500 to the Wuchang exchange. The first two exchanges include subscribers from Hanyang.

Road Building Progress in Central China

Completion of 500 kilometres of highway in Kiangsi within two months is projected by the National Economic Council which is actively assisting to finance road-building in the seven provinces of Central China. In anticipation of the early liquidation of Red banditry in Kiangsi province, the Council is launching a program of extensive road-construction as a fundamental means of preventing the revival of "Red" activities.

Free Seeds for Famine-Stricken Areas

A thousand piculs of seeds passed through Hsuchow during the week from the south on their way to Honan, where they will be distributed free to the farmers in the famine-stricken areas. The seeds were recently purchased by order of General Chiang Kai-shek, President of the Military Affairs Commission, in rice-producing districts along the Yangtsze basin. The Tientsin-Pukow and Lung-Hai Railway Administrations have been instructed to provide free transportation facilities.

Additional £16,000 Loan for Nanking Train Ferry

Dr. Chu Chia-hua, on behalf of the Board of Trustees of the British Boxer Indemnity Fund, signed a contract with the Ministry of Railways at Nanking Feb. 5 for an additional loan of £16,000 for the Nanking-Pukow Railway ferry.

The ferry boat *Chang Kiang* constructed by the Tsin-Pu Railway in England for use between Nanking and Pukow, was scheduled to leave London for China on Feb. 28, arriving here in the early part of April.

American Minister Speaks at Washington's Birthday Dinner

Nelson T. Johnson, the American Minister to China, was the principal speaker at the annual Washington birthday dinner of the Peking American Association at the Peking Hotel Feb. 22. In the course of his remarks he said:

"The dominant necessity of Washington's day was that as a nation we be let alone. A new state conducted along new lines demanded that we avail ourselves of the isolation which our detachment and distance from the scenes of conflict made possible. This policy of isolation, was made the subject of Washington's farewell address. That policy was followed until in 1917—almost a hundred years later—we once more became involved in European troubles. From this great international cataclysm the nations emerged resolved to find in international co-operation a road to peace. . . But, peace could not be maintained as long as nations continued a mad competition in naval and military establishments. In 1921, in the shadow of this new danger, the eight powers interested territorially or otherwise in the Pacific area joined with the United States in a conference which had for its object an earnest desire to establish peace among themselves and to arrive at understandings which might make that peace possible.

"At Washington they entered into treaties confirming that desire, and expressing their purpose to maintain their rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the region of the Pacific ocean, undertaking to safeguard the rights and interests of China, struggling as the United States had struggled to establish itself as a nation. They were agreed upon a reduction of their navies and upon a method of consultation in case of any controversies arising out of any Pacific question. They agreed to respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China, and to provide the fullest and most ample opportunity for China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and suitable government."

Will America Recognize the Soviets?

President-elect Roosevelt, as a result of plans formulated in Washington, is to be urged to recommend American recognition of Soviet Russia in his inaugural address on March 4. The movement to that end has been launched by Colonel Lewis Landes, World War veteran and now senior colonel of the Reserve Corps of the United States army. Colonel Landes is a practicing lawyer in New York City and the recent organizer of the National Committee for the Recognition of Soviet Russia, of which he is chairman and general counsel.

Senator King from Utah has introduced a resolution which would authorize the foreign affairs committee of the Upper House to investigate economic and political conditions in the Soviet Union.

The American Federation of Labor, which comprises 106 national and international unions representing 26,362 local Unions in every State of the Union, with a total of 2,532,261 members, is still uncompromisingly opposed to recognition of the Soviet Government by the United States until it shall have made plain that it will undertake no Communistic activities in America.

Endowments for National Scholarships to Be Established

A scheme for endowing national scholarships, patterned in theory after the Nobel prize awards, was approved at a meeting of the Central Political Council at Nanking, Feb. 15. Only Chinese gifted in various fields of art and science will be eligible for the remunerative honors. The Government will pay the awards, which may be used for study abroad. Actual details of the project are to be supplied by the Legislative Yuan.

British Officer Held as Spy

The British War Office announced Feb. 17 that the officer who was placed under arrest in the Tower of London early last month, is Lieutenant N. Baillie-Stewart of the Seaforth Highlanders, who will be charged with committing breaches of the official Secrets Act and tried by general court-martial.

CHINA'S REPLY TO JAPANESE ULTIMATUM

(*Continued from page 14*)

extend the sphere of such aggression and to further violate the territorial sovereignty of China. The Japanese Government should therefore be absolutely responsible for the invasion of Jehol. As for the puppet regime in the Three Eastern Provinces, it is a Japanese creation pure and simple, a fact which is known to the whole world. For all its illegal activities Japan should all the more bear the entire responsibility. Against the puppet regime in the Three Eastern Provinces and the so-called Japan-Manchukuo Protocol the Chinese Government has repeatedly lodged strong protests with the Japanese Government, declaring that the Chinese Government could never give them recognition. It is therefore unnecessary to enlarge on this subject.

"2.—That Japan should bear full responsibility for the attack on Jehol has already been stated. The fact that Japan is not only bent upon attacking and seizing Jehol, but also declares that her military operations may be extended to North China, is sufficient to prove that her long-cherished policy of aggression remains unchanged. Chinese troops, in resisting Japanese troops and other forces under Japanese direction or command in Jehol, or in taking nesessary defensive measures in any other part of Chinese territory, will be acting within their rights. If Japanese military operations should spread to North China, the Chinese troops will naturally exercise their right of self-defense in the protection of Chinese territory. The full responsibility for any situation which may be thus brought about should be borne by Japan.

"3.—General Tang Yu-lin, chairman of Jehol Province, is a high provincial military authority of the Chinese Government. Being in command of the military forces in Jehol, he has the duty to defend that province. The allegations made by the Japanese Government concerning the chairman of Jehol province must be regarded as a deliberate affront. The Chinese Government hereby lodges its protest."

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Japanese Naval Office Makes Bellicose Statement

The Japanese Navy office, which has been particularly reticent in expounding its views on the situation involving Japan's relationships with the League of Nations, made public on Feb. 22 its observations regarding Japan's position.

The Naval statement was a follows: "Now that things have reached their present stage, Japan's withdrawal from membership of the League of Nations is a foregone conclusion and, so far as the Navy is concerned, the only thing the Navy can do now is to work for the defense of of the country.

"If any country or countries should atempt to enforce economic sanctions against Japan, such action would be bound to precipitate another world war, as was clearly pointed out by Lord Lytton. Insuch an event, the Imperial Japanese Navy would be prepared to meet every emergency with all the forces at its disposal.

"The Imperial Navy is opposed to any who disregard Japan's rights in the mandatory islands in the Pacific as these islands in the South Seas are considered Japan's first line of sea defence and, therefore, the Navy is prepared to hold these islands at all costs.

"The Imperial Navy regard the question of Jehol as purely a domestic problem for the state of Manchukuo.

5. During this time of national emergency, the Imperial Navy wish to reassure the Japanese nation that its determination to vindicate Japan's national honor is firmer than ever and it is earnestly hoped that the entire Japanese nation, recognit zing the stand and the policy which the country is pursuing, will unite in bringing about success.'

A spokesman for the Japanese Naval Office in Tokyo Feb. 23 said Japan could not accept the League's recommendations regarding the Manchurian dispute and her Navy was determined "to take adequate measures to cope with the new situation." The spokesman described "the economic boycott against Japan advocated by bloodthirsty pacifists" as "inhuman and cruel," declaring that the Navy would "be prepared to deal with such inhumanities by force."

A Tokyo telegram Feb. 23 stated that there is a growing opinion among responsible quarters in Japan for the withdrawal of Japan's delegates to the General Disarmament Conference held under the auspices of the League of Nations and it is expected that the question will shortly be placed for definite decision before the Cabinet Council.

F. E. Vincent Also a Candidate for Municipal Council Seat

The American community in Shanghai, under the auspices of the American Community Committee on Municipal Elections, is holding a primary election this week for the purpose of selecting candidates for the forthcoming election of municipal councillors. The holding of a primary election (by mail) became necessary when a number of Americans proposed the name of F. E, Vincent for the Council, thereby upsetting a "slate" which had been decided upon previously by the so-called Community Committee. The slate included the names of F. J. Raven, local banker and C. S. Franklin, a local attorney, The proposal of the name of F. E. Vincent had the backing of a number of prominent Americans including L. Everett, P. S. Gilman, N. F. Allman, R. M. Vanderburgh, Truman Johnson, R. W. Gregg, E. D. Alexander, F. D. Mortimer. R. W. Squires and Wm. T. Alexander. The ballots were mailed out on Wednesday, March 1 with instructions to return them by noon of March 6. Mr. Vincent, the new candidate, is local manager of the American Foreign Insurance Association and has resided in Shanghai for several years.

Why America Needs a Larger Navy

Mr. Vinson, Chairman of the Naval Committee, told the House of Representatives in Washington Feb. 21, that increasing Japanese influence and decreasing American influence on the Orient was one reason why the United States must have a bigger navy. He said: "The international situation is far from reassuring and it is no time to scuttle the navy and jeopardise the safety of the country. Rather we must proceed to build up the navy to the relative strength provided for in the Washington and London Treaties.

Japan Will Conduct Huge Naval Maneuvers Next August

The main feature of the Japanese naval maneuvers next August will be submarine attacks and air raids by naval airplanes. It is stated that in view of the present emergency in the Far East, the Japanese Navy will conduct its mimic warfare on a larger scale than usual. The maneuvers will last three weeks.

"Low Grade" Goods Under the Ban in Canton

The registration of "low-grade" goods held in stock by Cantonese merchants has now been completed, a recent *Reuter* telegram from Canton states. Inspectors of the National Salvation Society will now conduct a search for "unregistered" goods, 26 bureaus having been formed for the purpose. Chinese merchants still selling such goods will be subjected to heavy fines. "since they have all agreed not to import or sell goods in this category."

Ministry Threatens to Cut Cable Lines

A *Kuo Min* message from Nanking, Feb. 29, stated that the Ministry of Communications had agreed to extend till the following week the period for negotiations for the revision of the present cable contracts with the Great Northern, Eastern Extension, and Commercial Pacific Cable Companies. The telegram said that unless a settlement is reached after this postponement, the landing cables will be cut. Later news indicated that a settlement was in sight.

China Not to Participate in Chicago Exhibition

According to a Nanking despatch, in the *China Times*, the Government has decided not to participate in the forthcoming Chicago Exhibition owing to the critical situation in China. The Foreign Office is reported to have already telegraphed to the United States informing the responsible Exhibition authorities to this effect.

Martial Law Declared in Germany---Reichstag Is Burned

A fire of incendiary origin broke out in the Reichstag building on the night of Feb. 27. The building will require several month's repairs to make it habitable. Martial law has been declared in Germany. The firing of the building was intended to be the signal for a general Communist uprising. The Communists headquarters throughout the Reich are being raided, Communist deputies have been arrested, and all Communist newspapers suppressed.

Japan Using 50,000 Nippon and Puppet Troops and 150 Air Bombers in Jehol Conquest

(The following article dealing with Japan's present campaign in Jehol Province, was written by the correspondent for the Associated Press of America, stationed in Manchuria).

Changchun, Manchuria.—As the legions of Generalissimo Nobuyoshi Muto, Japanese and Manchukuo allies, surged across the eastern frontier of Jehol, the most authoritative available estimates placed the total forces engaged in the province on the both sides at about 155,000 officers and men—105,000 for the defending Chinese and 50,000 for the allied invaders.

Of the attacking forces not more them 25,000 are believed to be Japanese, the other half being composed of Manchukuo troops, racially Chinese but armed and trained by the Japanese. This campaign is expected to prove a test of their loyalty to the new regime at Changchun when confronted by troops of their own race.

The Japanese high command has closely guarded the secret of what numbers and units it planned to throw into the Jehol offensive, but competent military authorities had good reason to believe that General Muto is employing more than one-third, probably nearly one-half, of his Japanese garrison of Manchuria. With the arrival in Manchuria in January of about 20,000 recruits of the class of 1933 the total of his command—purely Japanese and excluding the Manchukuo levies—rose to about 60,000.

The estimate given here for the Chinese forces in Jehol is lower than most of those published before the campaign began, but it is based on the reports of the Japanese General Staff, which would not be likely to underestimate its foe nor understate the size of the forces over which it expected a victory.

The principal role in the Jehol campaign will be played, the majority of military experts believe, by the 25,000 Japanese who form the shock contingents of the invading army. Competent authorities believe the composition of this force to be as follows: Five or six infantry brigades of 3,000 to 4,000 men each; the equivalent of three cavalry brigades of about 2,000 men each; probably two regiments of field artillery; possibly smaller units of other artillery; plentiful medical, transport and other auxiliary units, and—perhaps most important of all—a formidable mobilization of modern weapons, aeroplanes, tanks and armoured motor cars.

It is in its modern mechanical equipment that the Japanese army is overwhelmingly superior to its poorly equipped and loosely organized foe. The Japanese Army in Manchuria is known to have nine aviation squadrons, totalling between 100 and 150 planes of all fighting types. Fully two-thirds, perhaps 100 planes, have been mobilized for the Jehol campaign. It is doubtful whether the Chinese will have a single plane to challenge Japan's complete command of the air.

Matching this domination of the skies is Japan's great advantage in land motor transport. In Manchuria she has between 50 and 100 infantry-accompanying tanks, of which at least half will be lunging over the frozen Jehol plains, throwing terror into the ranks of Chinese soldiers that have never seen their like. These fast but heavily-gunned land cruisers have proved deadly effective against hostile concentrations.

In addition to the tanks there were believed to be some two dozen armoured motor cars, carrying machine-guns or light field pieces, especially effective in conjunction with cavalry. And besides all these there is a fleet of scores of motor trucks available for carrying the Japanese infantry forward wherever roads, plains or frozen rivers are passable.

A fortnight before the big drive opened the Japanese high command estimated the enemy in Jehol at not more than 105,000, loosely organized, poorly led and pitifully ill-equipped in comparison with the full-panoplied Japanese troops. Best of the Chinese were rated four infantry brigades from the regular forces of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, whose reign as warlord of Manchuria was ended by the Japanese occupation in 1931 and who is now the outstanding military power in North China with Peiping as his capital. These were believed to total not more than 25,000, concentrated in southern Jehol.

Next in comparative discipline and equipment came the Jehol provincial troops of General Tang Yu-lin, the provincial governor and subordinate of Marshal Chang. These were estimated at 30,000, in the central and southwestern parts of the province, around Chihfeng and the capital, Jehol.

The remainder of the Chinese array in Jehol, totalling about 50,000 men, was a motley assortment of armed men of varying degrees of training, discipline and "regularity," concentrated around the northern and eastern borders. These included between 5,000 and 10,000 men formerly belonging to Chinese armies in North Manchuria which the Japanese have dispersed during the past year, followers of General Su Ping-wen, Ma Chan-shan and others who have disappeared from the scene. There were thousands of "volunteers," largely untrained and poorly armed guerillas. The outstanding leaders of this element were Generals Sun Tien-ying and Feng Chan-hai. Then there were bands of fighting men, little better than outlaws even with respect to Chinese authority, who went by such picturesque names as "The Society of Big Swords," or "Brotherhood of Red Spears."

In spite of the veil of secrecy the Japanese high command has thrown over its preparations for the Jehol offensive and its choice of units for the big drive, competent military observers have found reason to believe that the principal organizations participating in the attack are as follows:

Five or six infantry brigades, totalling probably 17,500 men.

Two cavalry brigades and two additional cavalry regiments, 5,000 to 6,000 men.

Two field artillery regiments and numerous auxiliary units, the whole army coming to about 25,000 officers and men.

The infantry contingent was believed almost certain to include the two brigades belonging to the Eighth Division—the Fourth and Sixteen; less one brigade from the Sixth Division—either the Eleventh or the Thirty-sixth; and the Fourteenth Infantry Brigade. Use of both brigades belonging to the Sixth Division would bring the total to five, while competent authorities believed a sixth brigade would be brought in either from one of the Japanese Divisions in North Manchuria, the Tenth and Fourteen, or from one of the divisions of the garrison in Korea, the Nineteenth and Twentieth.

The two cavalry brigades are the First and Fourth, both of which played important roles in the smashing of General Su Ping-wen's rebellion in Northwestern Manchuria last December. The two additional cavalry regiments are those belonging to the Eighth and Sixth Divisions. These two divisions also were expected to furnish most of the artillery units for the invading army.

The forces actually in Jehol form the first lines for both Japan and China. Japanese leaders have expressed confidence that no other forces will become involved. They believe that the Japanese will be able to accomplish their mission—the annexation of Jehol to Manchukuo—without further reinforcement; and they are confident that the Chinese leaders do not want to risk their superior troops of the second line in a hopeless contest.

But if the fighting does spread —which would mean practically war on a national scale between Japan and China, which it is not at present, even with the invasion of Jehol—both sides have strong additional forces near at hand, their second lines of defence.

On the Chinese side these consist of about 100,000 troops in the Peiping-Tientsin region under command of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, together with probably 100,000 more on the railways running northwest and southwest from Peiping. Of Marshal Chang's 100,000 nearly half are concentrated in the region between the Great Wall and the Lwan River, whither they were rushed early in January when the Japanese assaulted and occupied Shanhaikwan, the gateway between Manchuria and North China.

The Japanese second line may be considered to include that part of General Muto's army not actually engaged in the Jehol drive and the Japanese garrison of

Korea. General Muto has in northern Manchuria the Tenth and Fourteeth Divisions, with headquarters at Harbin and Tsitsihar, respectively. The Korean garrison, under command of Lieutenant-General Yoshiyuki Kawashima, consists of two divisions, the Nineteeth and Twentieth.

The third lines are the entire national forces of both nations. Behind the 300,000 troops in Jehol and North China there are between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000 Chinese fighting men of varying degree of loyalty to the central government. It is an extremely remote possibility that these, or any considerable part of them, will even be gathered under one effective command to oppose the Japanese.

Besides her troops in Manchuria and Korea, Japan still has in her home islands eleven divisions of her standing army, totalling about 140,000 men, and a trained reserve of 2,000,000 men. Japanese leaders scoff at the idea that these forces need come into action in the conflict with China.

National Aviation Association to Raise $2,000,000

A campaign to raise $2,000,000 to purchase airplanes for national defense has been inaugurated by the China Aviation Association. Those who contribute $500 will be admitted as permanent members of the Association. Those giving $50 will become temporary members, while the donors of $10 will be admitted as special members. Ordinary membership is only two dollars. Clubs and societies can become members as such by contributing $50 to the cause. The campaign will last for two months, ending on April 30.

In his capacity as commander-in-chief in the drive, Mayor Wu Te-chen of the Municipality of Greater Shanghai, gave a reception to 200 team captains and local leaders in the new Chinese Y.M.C.A. on Boulevard de Montigny, Shanghai, Feb. 25, when all regulations governing the drive were discussed and adopted.

The chief purpose of this campaign, declared Mayor Wu in his address, is to get together the knowledge and wealth of the whole nation in a campaign for the building of a strong national air defense force. The nation is now facing an ordeal of the most serious nature. Unless the people were willing to witness the ruin of their country, they must support the aviation membership campaign which is assuredly one of the most effective means of saving China from foreign domination.

Addresses were also made by Wang Hsiao-lai, chairman of the Shanghai Chinese Chamber of Commerce, General Tai Chi, commander of the Shanghai-Woosung Garrison Headquarters, Hsu Shih-ying, official and Tze Wei-sun, both former high governmental officials, all of whom stressed the urgent necessity of building a powerful air force.

In response to the present demand for aerial pilots, the National Aviation Association has decided to establish an aviation school in Shanghai. Classes will begin in April.

The Chekiang Provincial Government Committee at a meeting Feb. 24 decided to collect a 30 percent aviation levy on rentals within the Hangchow Municipality.

The Hupeh Aviation Association was formally inaugurated Feb. 25. Similar organizations have been formed by workers of the Hunan-Hupeh Railway and the Peiping-Hankow Railway. The latter recently decided to solicit contributions for the purchase of two airplanes.

The inaugural meeting of the Peiping branch of People's Air Force Association was held on March 1, according to information from local Chinese circles.

American Samoa Remains Under Naval Control

American Samoa will remain under the control of the United States Navy for the present. The House of Representatives Feb. 24 rejected a bill which would have granted civil government.

The islands, which are strategically important, were ceded definitely to the United States in 1899 under a tri-partite agreement between Great Britain, Germany and the United States. Prior to that time, the three nations had control over some of the islands. The native chiefs gave their allegiance to the United States in 1900.

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Men and Events

Robert W. Bingham, Louisville publisher, has been mentioned for the post of Ambassador to Britain, succeeding Andrew Mellon, who recently resigned.

Wang Ching-wei, president of the Executive Yuan, is scheduled to arrive at Shanghai from Germany on the Italian steamer *Tergestea* March 18.

Tan Li-shen, president of the Continental Bank and one of the leading bankers in North China, died at his home in Peiping Feb. 25 after two months' illness.

The first ship carrying Chinese exports to Soviet Russia left Shanghai Feb. 26. It is carrying a consignment of 4,000 tons of Chinese tea, worth about $1,000,000.

Kuo Yu-shou, Head of the Chinese Educational Mission to Europe, is returning to China after completion of his tour. He is on his way via Siberia and is expected at Nanking early this month.

M. Thorbecke, Netherlands minister, conferred at Nanking Feb. 28, with Dr. Lo Wen-kan, Minister of Foreign Affairs, concerning the remission of the Dutch portion of the Boxer Indemnity Refund.

Dr. J. Heng Liu, Director of the Health Administration of the Ministry of Interior, returned to Nanking from Peiping Feb. 27, after a fortnight devoted to organizing Red Cross work in the war area.

As a result of the rigid boycott movement, the Japanese shipping companies have suspended their Hankow-Ichang, Chungking-Ichang, Hankow-Changsha, and Shanghai-Ichang steamship services.

Lo Chung-yi, Chinese Minister to Denmark, has been appointed chief Chinese delegate to the Disarmament Conference. Quo Tai-chi, Chinese Minister at London, has been appointed assistant delegate.

A recent telegram from Bad Nauheim recalls that. Franklin D. Roosevelt. America's President-elect, then a lad of nine, spent the summer of 1891 in that town with his parents, and attended the city school.

Dr. C. C. Wu has been appointed by the Central Political Council as Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, which is responsible for formulating and directing the foreign policy of the Government.

The new Central Mint at Shanghai was to have been officially opened March 1, but at the last moment orders came from Nanking to postpone the public ceremony. The actual operation of minting dollars is, however, being proceeded with.

The Green Island Cement Company, the biggest industry in Hongkong, has been compelled to shut down as a result of the dumping of Japanese cement. There is no prospect of its resuming operations for at least two months.

Anton V. Cermak, Mayor of Chicago, who received a bullet in the abdomen Feb. 25 which was intended for President-elect Roosevelt, is hovering between life and death at Miami, Florida. Oxygen is being administered with a hope of saving his life.

Coloned F. D. Kilgore, appointed to the command of the Fourth Regiment United States Marines in Shanghai following the death of Colonel Richard S. Hooker, is expected to arrive here with Mrs. Kilgore on board the s.s. *President Hayes* on March 13.

A tea party was given by the Committee in Charge of China's Participation in the Chicago World Fair at the Central Research Institute on Brenan Road, Shanghai where a preliminary exhibition of specimens of Chinese art and other products is being held.

The Danish steamer, Gustav Diederichsen, was captured by pirates on her way from Hongkong to Swatow, taken to Bias Bay and thoroughly looted. The chief officer, R.A.D. Nillsen, was shot through the chest, but the wound will probably not prove fatal. The steamer later returned to Hongkong.

Hsiung Hsi-ling, former Premier of China and Governor of Jehol, arrived at Shanghai from Peiping last week in connection with a mission of the Association for the Support of the Northeastern Volunteers to raise more subscriptions in Shanghai. Mr. Hsiung called on Gen. Ho Ying-ching, Minister of War, at his Shanghai residence on Feb. 28 and asked Gen. Ho to request General Chiang Kai-shek to proceed north immediately to direct the defence of Jehol in view of the serious situation in the North. It is understood that Gen. Ho has promised Mr. Hsiung to wire Gen. Chiang accordingly.

The local American Consulate-General announced Feb. 28 that James K. Penfield, vice-consul at Canton, was being transferred to Mukden and will pass through here March 4. Ralph Blake, who is vice-consul at Tsinan, will be transferred to Harbin.

The newly established Cavalry School at Nanking was opened on March 1. Lt.-General Chuang Hung-chun has been appointed principal. The first class consists of 60 cadets recommended from various military units. Graduation ceremonies for the first class of the Artillery School took place Feb. 27.

The death occurred at Tientsin Feb. 21 at the age of 59 of Harriet Taylor, American missionary, following a brief illness. She was connected with the National Holiness Mission and spent considerable time in the interior of China, south Chihli and Shantung. She first came to China with her husband in 1901.

E. K. Moy has withdrawn from the brokerage firm of S. D. Wang & Company, to become managing director of the Nan Mow Bond Brokerage Company and of its parent firm, the Nan Mow Land Development & Agency Company at 221 Szechuen Road Shanghai. Mr. Moy has had long experience as a newspaper man.

Harold M. Bixby, well known businessman of St. Louis, who was largely responsible for financing Col. Lindbergh's flight to Europe, arrived in Shanghai recently on an extensive trip through the Far East. Mr. Bixby is extensively interested in aviation and has always taken a leading position in the development of aviation in the United States.

The need for the establishment by the Australian Government of an information bureau in China was stressed by Miss R. Venn-Brown, who reached Sydney by the s. s. *Nankin* from Yokohama on January 26. Miss Venn-Brown, who has spent 10 years in Shanghai with the Asiatic Petrolem Co., said Australia was the only country which was not represented in China.

Lieut. Evens F. Carlson, formerly U. S. Marine Intelligence Officer at Shanghai, is returning here shortly. He and Mrs. Carlson were scheduled to sail for Manila on the U. S. Transport Grant from San Francisco on Feb. 10. Since leaving Shanghai, Lieut. Carlson has been in Nicaragua superintending the organization of the native constabulary and police departments.

A car driven by an Italian subject, Francis G. Jovino, crashed into three members of a Japanese naval patrol on duty in Yangtszepoo road Shanghai on the night of Feb. 25, with the result that one of the sailors is in hospital in what is stated to be a dying condition, suffering from a fracture of the skull, and two of his companions are receiving treatment for extensive head and back wounds. There was a drizzling rain at the time of the incident.

Sixteen women and one man were killed by an explosion which destroyed the Yung Wo Industrial Company's rubber vulcanizing establishment at Chapei, Shanghai suburb, Jan. 28. A short circuit is said to have been the cause of three gasoline vulcanizers exploding simultaneously. This explosion was of a character similar to that which occurred in the Yangtsepoo district last week when upwards of a hundred employees of a rubber factory were killed.

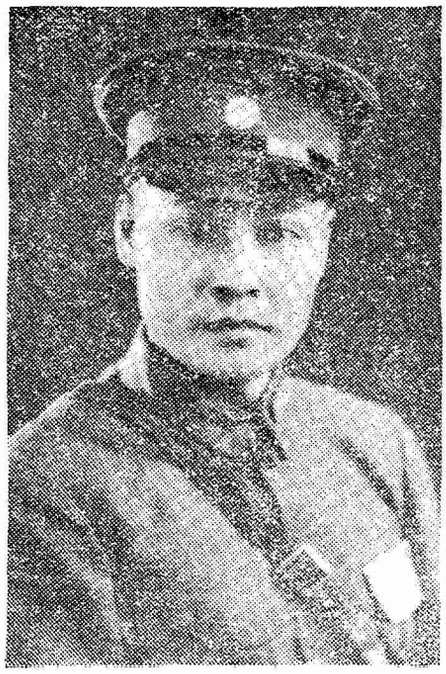
Four Japanese and four Chinese were arrested in the First Special Area, Tientsin, following a raid by the police on a fully-equipped plant for the manufacture of heroin. Empty bottles, chemicals and other paraphernalia reported to be worth $10,000 were confiscated. The house is owned by a French citizen, who stated that the house had been rented to a Chinese named Chu Shiu-tien, but that he had never seen Mr. Chu as all the negotiations had been carried on by two Japanese.

The Southern Leaf Tobacco Company, an American concern, sued Yu Tso-ting, compradore of the Yat Shing Tobacco Company, for G$1,114.54 in the First Special District Court, Shanghai, Feb. 25 for tobacco sold. The claim revolves around the responsibility of the defendant as introducer or guarantor of the business. According to plaintiffs counsel, the tobacco had been ordered by defendant at 19 cents gold per pound and re-sold by him to the Ho Shing Company at a higher price.

The death occurred in Shanghai, Feb. 24 of Victor, four-year-old son of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel H. Chang. Mr. Chang was formerly the managing editor of the *China Press*. For a time he was the director of intelligence and publicity in the ministry of foreign affairs. At present he is the publicity director of the China Life Insurance Institute with offices on the Bund. He was married in 1920 at Soochow, where he was a professor of English of the University of Soochow, and Mrs. Chang, then Dr. King, was a medical practitioner.

Who's Who in China

Gen. Yang Hu, Commissioner of Peace Preservation Bureau of Shanghai Municipality; born at Ningkuo, Anhwei, 1888; senior naval officer of the Headquarters of the Generalissimo, Canton; military counsellor to the President of China; military counsellor to the Generalissimo; commander of the First Division of the Nationalist Northern Expeditionary Forces; chief of Special Service Department of the Headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief of the Nationalist Revolutionary Forces; member of Anhwei Provincial Government; Garrison Commander of Shanghai; military counsellor to the National Government; now, member of the Central Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang and Commissioner of Peace Preservation Bureau of Shanghai Municipality with rank of Major-General; address: Bureau of Peace Preservation Bureau, City Government of Greater Shanghai.



楊虎字嘯天
Gen. Yang Hu (Yang Hsiao-tien)

楊虎，字嘯天，四十五歲，安徽甯國縣人，歷任大本營海軍處長，大總統府參軍，大元帥府參軍，北伐軍第一師師長，國民革命軍總司令部特務處長，安徽省政府政務委員，上海警備司令，國民政府參軍，現任中央監察委員，上海市保安處處長，陸軍中將。

Emergency Bill Passed to Protect U.S. Bank Deposits

The Governor of Maryland Feb. 25 declared a three day banking holiday in all banks and financial institutions throughout the state, in order to permit the adoption of measures to counteract heavy withdrawals. The eight-day banking holiday in the state of Michigan was extended on February 21, and a bill giving power to the Comptroller of Currency to permit a limited "freezing" of deposits amounting to over G.$17,000,000,000 in over 6,000 national banks throughout the United States, passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, Feb. 25. The bill was signed by President Hoover and thus became a law the following day.

Reports from all parts of the United States indicate an increasing financial crisis. The number of states that have passed laws providing for moratoriums is increasing daily. Owing to developments arising out of a Senate enquiry, Charles E. Mitchell resigned as chairman of the board of the National City Bank. James H. Perkins succeeded Mr. Mitchell. Henry Ford has bought all the stock in the First National Bank and the Union Guardian Trust Co., both in Detroit, and will hereafter run them according to his own ideas.

Mr. Matsuoka's Visit to The Hague

The Japanese League delegate Mr. Matsuoka, and the Japanese Minister to The Hague, Mr. Saito, proceeded from Geneva to The Hague Feb. 25 with a view (according to a *Trans-Ocean* message from Geneva) to opening negotiations for the conclusion of a Dutch-Japanese non-aggression pact which will include the Dutch colonial possessions.

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CUSTOMS NOTIFICATION No. 1278

The public is hereby notified that, in accordance with Government instructions, the Tariff Headings for Paper first, second and third quality in the Interport Tariff of the Republic of China are modified as from the 27th February, 1933, to read as follows:

	Duty rate Hk. Tls.
Paper, 1st quality, value over Hk. Tls. 12 *per picul* (including Paper Wadding and Weising Lottery Books)	0.700
(Modern Chinese Books and Newspapers: free)	
Paper, 2nd quality, value over Hk. Tls. 6 but not over Hk. Tls. 12 *per picul*	0.400
Paper, 3rd quality, value Hk. Tls. 6 and under *per picul*	0.200

The other items under this heading remain unaltered.

H. O. Tong,
Superintendent of Customs.
L. H. Lawford,
Commissioner of Customs.

CUSTOM HOUSE,
Shanghai, 1st March, 1933.

New Books of Interest in the Far East

"Where the Dawn Comes Up Like Thunder"

Jehol: City of Emperors, by Sven Hedin, translated from the Swedish by E. G. Nash; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London.

The Loom of the East, by F. Kingdon-Ward, F.R.G.S., (Gold Medallist), F.L.S., V.M.H.; Martin Hopkinson Ltd., London.

Jehol being very much in the limelight, Dr. Hedin's book is very timely, but the prospective reader should not be misled into thinking that it has any bearing on the present situation. It deals with the city of Jehol of the past that we like to think so romantic and the Manchu emperors who vacationed there, partly for pleasure and partly to impress the Mongols with Celestial magnificence, and it is marvelously illustrated and exceedingly interesting, but without contributing anything of much importance to an understanding of the present.

Dr. Hedin visited Jehol to make a replica of one of its architecturally superb Lama temples for both the World's Fair in Chicago and Stockholm, and this book is a by-product. What he tells of the Manchu emperors, including the famed Empress Dowager who rose from an insignificant concubine (in class, not appearance and personality) to the Dragon Throne, is partly fact and partly romance, but he always makes clear which of these two he is recounting, and the result is a tremendously charming volume.

From the viewpoint of history, the best portion of the book is that which deals with the British mission of Lord Macartney in 1793, who sought to establish relations between England and China. Dr. Hedin shows full appreciation of the ironic fact that the Britons were placed by the Chinese on the same level as Mongol princes and envoys from Burma,—that is tribute-bearers. One little known fact is brought out that the gifts to the Manchu Emperor, costing £13,123 12s. 4d., were paid for by The East India Company which probably hoped to make of China a second India.

All the details of the question of the kowtow, which westerners regarded as too degrading to perform, are also brought out. Macartney, for example, was willing to bow and kneel upon one knee to the Celestial Emperor, even as Englishmen did when received by their own King, but he would not get on both knees and knock his head on the floor. To this reviewer the difference seems purely quantitative, not qualitative, but one must grant that tastes in subserviency differ.

Mr. Kingdon-Ward's volume is a very readable, but not always sound, confusion of fact and opinion on India, Burma, Siam, Tibet, China, and Japan. It contains an excellent physical description of Asia and the semi-shrewd observation that what is called the East "is what it is because it is the South," that is tropical and semi-tropical. In dealing with India he emits a typical British doctrine that England must stay in that unhappy country until the Indians learn to govern,—as if they could ever learn to govern themselves as long as they are being governed!

Within his understanding, which obviously does not include any more than a sophomoric appreciation of economics, Mr. Kingdon-Ward is quite refreshingly realistic in many of his comments. He clearly sees the conflict between China, France and England in Yunnan, which borders on Burma; he also says it is likely Hongkong will eventually "become a part of the Japanese Empire" as Bias Bay, famous as a pirate lair, is the most ideal harbor on the south China coast for Nippon; and he cites that both Japan and China have acquired something of contempt for England's strength since she surrendered her Hankow Concession to what he describes as the "rabble."

Some of his other conclusions may well be quoted without the bother of analysis or criticism: "It is entirely significant that all the really dynamic peoples of the world are either outside the League (of Nations) altogether or thoroughly dissatisifed with it. I need only mention America, Russia, China and Japan."....."The astute Chinaman knows well enough that he can outbluff the Englishmen, or the Frenchmen, or even, sometimes, the blustering Russian. But he cannot bluff the Japanese."...."Japan would like the European nations to believe that her real ambitions lie in Manchuria; first as far as the Sungari River, then to the Amur and beyond it into Siberia even. That I believe is a delusion. When the Japanese have reached the Amur, or before, they will turn right about face, and from that rich and impregnable base, advance south in overwhelming force, with a persistence, a relentlessness and a ruthlessness that the western nations hardly yet begin to understand."

Obviously, Mr. Kingdon-Ward is a British imperialist of refreshing outlook and candor, and his views are well worth studying, and perhaps sometimes endorsing.

W.B.

A Suggested Cure for America's Social Ills

America Made Young, by Duval McCutchen. Humanities Publishing Co., Philadelphia.

This book is sub-titled "A Plea for a More Perfect Society." Its readers might well make a plea to have the ideas more perfectly presented. It is full of ideas, good, bad and indifferent ones, but to the reviewer they seem undigested and unconvincingly presented.

That something is radically wrong with our social and economic system at present we are all ready to admit. That back of the General Depression there must be causes is axiomatic. That some of the problems of today should be studied by the best brains of the day in the most scientific manner possible we can agree. But whether Duval McCutchen has found "the solution of immediate problems and the method by which a completely new concept of society will be envisioned" by the citizens of the United States, as the outer cover of his book makes bold to assert, is quite another question.

Government, according to his definition is "the bearing in which the drive-shaft of humanity can unfold its power," if you understand what that means. Instead of being a "bearing" which holds a man in place and gives him directional stability, our United States government, the author states, is "a gigantic balloon gas-bag in which human beings dart haphazardly this way and that, to finally come up against the loose and distant environs of the bag." Russian Communism is much better,—or Italian Fascism. And yet the author thinks a reformed Capitalism would be better than either. "A society is like a human body", he says, "Health, well-being, in the body is such a state that the parts all function in the utmost harmony with the other parts." And what our Government lacks is its "pituitary gland."

The author's biggest scheme for the re-making of our society is the establishment of one gigantic Universty of the United States, subsidized by the Gavernment so that "four-year scholarships" could be given to four million young people to pay them for their labor of study in a citizenship factory. The most impractical side of this gigantic scheme is the idea of having all the education of this new type centered in *one University* to be located somewhere in the Middle West, and admittedly to be a University City with at leat two million students to say nothing of faculty. Taking these young people out of the competitive jobs where so many now occupy places that older workers would then secure, and employing two hundred thousand workmen for two years to build the University City is supposed to solve the unemployment problem instead of having another World War. And the bill for all this is to be paid by the Government which is to take over and operate all banking facilities, thus permitting controlled inflation and extensive credit expansion.

The author seems to have been serious in writing this book, but one doubts if many readers will take it seriously. And if the new type of education produces writers like the author, our literature of merit is a thing of the past.

G. T. F.

Recent Pamphlets Received

The February issue of *Lingnan Science Jouanal*, published by Lingnan University at Canton, contains as its principal article a Study of the Characteristics of the Pearl River Water, by Wen-wei Huang. The editor of the *Journal* is William E. Hoffman, who contributes an article on Life History Notes on Some Kwangtung Coreids.

The *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, published under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia, and the *Proceedings* of the Academy of Political Science, published by Columbia University of New York, both devote their January issues to the same theme, the former being entitled "Essentials for Prosperity" and the latter "Steps Toward Recovery." Government economies, trade barriers and the gold situation are some of the subjects discussed.

64-046

The Birmingham (England) Bureau of Research on Russian Economic Conditions has issued its final memorandum (No. 8) entitled "The Communist Policy towards the Peasant and the Food Crisis in the U.S.S.R." It is stated in the memorandum that the budget investigations of peasant economies, prior and subsequent to the revolution, showed that peasants with small holdings buy more grain than they sell and derive their earnings from handicraft and the hiring out of their services; the peasants with large holdings alone sell more grain than they buy.

READERS of *The China Weekly Review* who may be interested in obtaining copies of any books which have been reviewed in these columns, may obtain them by sending their orders in care of *The Review*....If obtainable in Shanghai the books will be mailed immediately at retail prices prevailing in Shanghai, plus postage, or if not obtainable here, they will be ordered from the publishers abroad. Send orders or inquiries to Book Editor, *The China Weekly Review*, 38 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai.

Doseikai Member Attacks Japan's Financial Program

Mr. Tsukei Sugawara of the Doseikai party interpellating on t. e financial policy in the Japanese House of Peers, Feb. 18, expressed grave concern about the future of national finance.

The interpellator complained of the failure of the Government to make public the rough outline of the financial program for the later fiscal years. If this indicated the Government's lack of its future financial program nothing can be more deplorable, he said. It would be a mistake to say that no financial program could be laid down because no program could be executed as planned.

The interpellator went on to say that both from the point of view of the financial policy and from that of the monetary policy, there must be proper limits to bond issues. It was equally necessary, he said, that there should be a definite program for the redemption of loans and for the payment of interest on them.

In attacking the financial policy of the Saito Government, Mr. Sugawara said that the present situation is like sailing the high seas without a chart. He pointed out that "even Manchukuo has a definite financial policy but Japan has none at all."

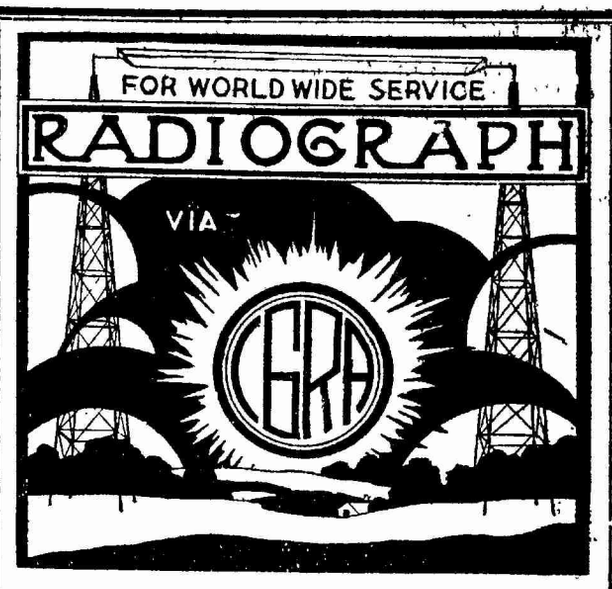
Mr. Sugawara spoke for two hours. He put the following questions to Mr. Takahashi, the Finance Minister:

1. Has the Government any definite plan in mind for the re-establishment of the finances of Japan on a new and firmer basis?
2. Has the Government any definite program for the future? If it has, a clear explanation of its detail is requested.
3. What is the opinion of the Finance Minister in regard to the limits of issuance of Government Bonds?
3. Even though the estimated revenue and the expenditures do not balance, is the government to continue its policy of maintaining the present tariff and consider Government Bonds as the only method of balancing the budget?
5. What is the attitude of the Finance Minister in regard to the question of private industries and the Government Monopoly Bureau's enterprises?

Mr. Takahashi's answer was non-committal.

Shantung Official First Bambooed, Then Executed

Chao Chun-chen, former head of the tobacco and wine tax sub-bureau for the 17th District in Shantung, was executed Feb. 26 after having been found guilty on several charges of corruption. A week ago, Chao was summoned by General Han Fu-chu, Chairman of the Shantung Provincial Government, to answer charges filed against him by the chief tax collector for Shangho who accused Chao of demanding bribes. Found guilty, he was dismissed from office and given 100 strokes of the bamboo.



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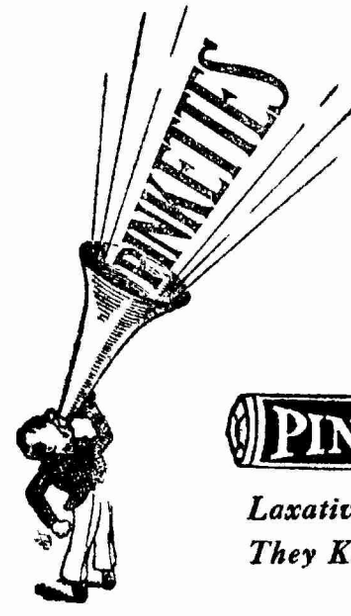

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Full Text of the Report of the League Committee of Nineteen

(The publication of the full text of the Report of the Committee of Nineteen, constituted by the League of Nations to investigate the Sino-Japanese dispute, adopted by the Assembly on Feb. 24, is commenced in this issue of "The Review." The latter part of the Report, consisting of the Recommendations, was published in the issue of Feb. 25).

Origin of the dispute before the League of Nations. Events of September 18-19, 1931, in South Manchuria.—First Discussions of the Council

China's request to the Council arose out of the action taken by the Japanese troops in Manchuria on the night of September 18-19, 1931.

In consequence of an incident near Mukden, in the South Manchuria Railway zone, which is guarded by Japanese troops, the Japanese Command, on the ground that military precautions were necessary, sent troops outside the railway-zone, more especially to the Chinese towns in the neighborhood of the zone and to the Chinese railway lines terminating at Mukden. The Chinese towns of Mukden, Changchun, Antung, Yingkow and others were occupied and the Chinese troops dispersed or disarmed.

On September 21 China appealed under Article 2 of the Covenant and asked the Council to take immediate steps to prevent the further development of a situation endangering the peace of nations, to re-establish the *status quo ante* and to determine the amount and character of such reparations as might be found due to the Republic of China.

On September 22 the Council authorized its President (the representative of Spain, Senor Lerroux) to address an urgent appeal to the two governments to refrain from any act which might aggravate the situation or prejudice the peaceful settlement of the problem, the two countries might proceed immediately to the withdrawal of their respective troops without compromising the safety of the lives and property of their nationals.

On September 28 the President-in-office of the Council, explaining the situation to the Assembly, then in ordinary session, on the basis of information supplied by the two parties, stated that "the withdrawal of the Japanese forces to within the South Manchuria Railway zone was being carried out" and that on September 28 "the Japanese representative had announced to the Council that the withdrawal was proceeding. Outside the railway zone there only remained, apart from Kirin and Mukden, small detachments at Hsinmin and Chengchiatun for the protection of Japanese nationals against the attacks of bands of Chinese soldiers and brigands which at the same time were ravaging those districts":

Such was the position when on September 30 the Council adopted the following resolution:

The Council,

(1) Notes the replies of the Chinese and Japanese Governments to the urgent appeal addressed to them by its President and the steps that have already been taken in response to that appeal;

(2) Recognises the importance of the Japanese Government's statement that it has no territorial designs in Manchuria;

(3) Notes the Japanese representative's statement that his Government will continue, as rapidly as possible, the withdrawal of its troops, which has already been begun, into the railway zone in proportion as the safety of the lives the property of Japanese nationals is effectively assurel and that it hopes to carry out this intention in full as speedily as may be;

(4) Notes the Chinese representative's statement that his Government will assume responsibility for the safety of lives and property of Japanese nationals outside that zone as the withdrawal of the Japanese troops continues and the Chinese local authorities and police forces are re-established;

(5) Being convinced that both Governments are anxious to avoid taking any action which might disturb the peace and good understanding between the two nations, notes that the Chinese and Japanese representatives have given assurances that their respective Governments will take all necessary steps to prevent any extension of the scope of the incident or any aggravation of the situation;

(6) Requests both Parties to do all in their power to hasten the restoration of normal relations between them and for that purpose to continue and speedily complete the execution of the above-mentioned undertakings;

(7) Requests both Parties to furnish the Council at frequent intervals with full information as to the development of the situation;

(8) Decides, in the absence of any unforeseen occurrence which might render an immediate meeting essential, to meet again at Geneva on Wednesday, October 14th, 1931, to consider the situation as it then stands;

(9) Authorises its President to cancel the meeting of the Council fixed for October 14th should he decide, after consulting his colleagues, and more particularly the representatives of the two Parties, that, in view of such information as he may have received from the Parties or from other members of the Council as to the development of the situation, the meeting is no longer necessary.

The hopes of the Council were not fulfilled. On October 9 the Chinese delegation asked for an urgent meeting of the Council on the ground that Japanese troops had begun further "aggressive military operations." The reference was primarily to the aerial bombardment of Chinchow where, after the capture of Mukden, the provincial government had temporarily established itself.

The Council at its meeting in September, had decided to forward to the Government of the United States of America the minutes of its meeting and the documents relating to the Sino-Japanese dispute and the Government of the United States had affirmed its wholehearted sympathy with the attitude of the League of Nations.

On October 16 it was determined to continue to co-operate with the Government of the United States of America which was invited to send a representative to sit at the Council table to consider the relationship between the provisions of the Pact of Paris and the present unfortunate situation in Manchuria and at the same time to follow the deliberations of the Council with regard to other aspects of the problem with which it was now confronted.

The United States Government sent a similar Note to the two governments.

On October 22 the President of the Council (the representative of France, M. Briand) submitted a draft resolution upon which the members of the Council other than the parties had unanimously agreed.

The draft resolution, after referring to the undertakings entered into by the Governments of China and Japan in the resolution of September 30 and to the declaration of the Japanese representative that his country had no territorial designs in Manchuria, called upon the Japanese Government immediately to begin the withdrawal of its troops into the railway zone and proceed therewith so that the whole of the troops might be withdrawn before the next meeting of the Council.

It called upon the Chinese Government to make such arrangements for taking over the territory thus evacuated as would ensure there the safety of the lives and property of Japanese subjects and indicated certain measures of detail to be adopted for this purpose.

Recommendations were also made to the two Governments that, as the evacuation was completed, they should open direct negotiations on all the questions outstanding between them, in particular in respect of those arising out of the recent incidents and of those relating to the difficulties caused by the railway situation in Manchuria. For this purpose the Council suggested that the two parties should set up a conciliation committee or some such permanent machinery. Finally it was proposed that the Council should meet again on November 16.

On October 23 the representative of China accepted the draft resolution as a "bare minimum."

The representative of Japan submitted a counter-draft and explained that his Government, in view of the tension in Manchuria and the state of disorder prevailing there did not deem it possible to fix a definite date by which the evacuation could be completed. His Government regarded it as absolutely indispensable that a calmer frame of mind should be restored and, with this object in view, had determined a number of fundamental points which should be the basis for normal relations between China and Japan. He was not authorized to set out these fundamental points in a resolution or to discuss their details at the Council table, they could better be made the subject of direct negotiations between the parties.

The Council considered that it was impossible to refer to "fundamental points" in a draft resolution without knowing what they were.

The draft resolution was not adopted, the Japanese representative voting against it (October 24, 1931). The Council, after taking the vote, adjourned until November 16.

The Chinese representative, after the meeting of October 24, made the following declaration to the President of the Council on behalf of his Government:

"China, like every member of the League of Nations, is bound by the Covenant to a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations. The Chinese Government, for its part, is determined loyally to fulfil all its obligations under the Covenant. It is prepared to give proofs of this intention by undertaking to settle all disputes with Japan as to treaty interpretation by arbitration or judicial settlement as provided in Article XIII of the Covenant. In pursuance of this purpose, the Chinese Government is willing to conclude with Japan a treaty of arbitration similar to that recently concluded between China and the United States or to those concluded of recent years in increasing numbers between members of the League."

Development of Japanese Military Operations in North Manchuria

After their Council meeting in October, further Japanese military operations took place in Manchuria in the neighborhood of the bridges carrying the Taonan-Anganchi railway over the river Nonni. These bridges had been destroyed in October by the Chinese troops of the President of the Heilungkiang Provincial Government, general Ma Chan-shan, in order to stop the advance of General Chang Hai-peng who, according to the Chinese, had taken the offensive at the instigation of the Japanese. To justify Japanese intervention for the repair of these bridges, the Tokyo Government had represented to the Chinese Government that the Taonan Angangchi Railway had been built by the South Manchuria Company under a contract, that the Chinese authorities had not yet paid their debt, that they had refused to convert that debit into a loan, and that the railway might therefore be regarded as belonging to the South Manchuria Company, which had a great interest in preserving the property and in maintaining traffic on the line.

On November 2 the Japanese Government stated that, at the request of the South Manchuria and the Taonan-Angangchi Railway administration, a company of sappers had been sent on that day to repair the railway bridge under the protection of troops (infantry, artillery and air forces).

The Japanese troops came into contact with the Chinese forces, which refused to retire and were driven back. In November the Japanese troops reached and even crossed the Chinese Eastern Railway and took Angangchi and subsequently Tsitsihar (November 19).

Measures for the Reorganization of the Civil Administration in Manchuria

While military operations were thus spreading towards the north of Manchuria, progress was made with the reorganization of the civil administration. At Mukden in particular, after the disorganization caused by the incident of September 18, the administration of the Municipality was first entrusted to the Japanese, Colonel Doihara, and later, on October 20, to a Chinese mayor. Dr. Chao Hsin-po, Doctor of Laws of the University of Tokyo.

Efforts were also made to organize a Liaoning provincial administration in opposition to the former administration which had taken refuge at Chinchow. The "Committee for the Maintenance of Peace and Order," constituted on September 24, became in October the office of the autonomous government of the province of Liaoning. The latter in turn was converted on November 7 into an acting provincial government of Liaoning, which announced that it was breaking off relations with the former North-Eastern Government and with the National Government at Nanking.

At the same time a supreme advisory council was established, whose duties included those of directing and supervising the provincial government and encouraging the development of local autonomy. All the new authorities, as also the banks of issue, had received Japanese advisers, who were, in many cases, influential officials of the South Manchuria Railway.

64-048

The representative of China insisted that the Japanese army was responsible for setting up and maintaining at Mukden, Kirin and other points in its occupation these new authorities, who were the "puppets and creatures of the Japanese army command."

The representative of Japan replied that the "Japanese authorities had no alternative but to encourage the formation by the Chinese themselves of bodies responsible for the maintenance of order. The efficient performance of their duties by those bodies would make much easier the rapid withdrawal of troops which was desired by the Japanese Government as had been formally stated on several occasions."

Moreover several reports from Dr. Frederick A. Cleveland, associate chief inspector of the Salt Revenue were communicated to the Council in November, 1931, by the Chinese delegation. These reports stated that the Japanese military authorities were forcibly seizing the salt revenues in the Manchurian towns. It was urged in a Japanese communication that the "action of the military authorities in intervening to transfer the surplus revenues of the Chinese Salt Tax Office to another Chinese body (the local Committee for the Maintenance or Order) could not be regarded as unjustifiable."

[Session of the Council in November-December, 1931. Constitution of a Commission of Enquiry

Meanwhile the Council met in Paris on November 16, 1931, and on November 21 a Japanese proposal for a commission of enquiry to be sent to the Far East was put forward, "the creation and dispatch of this commission in no way modifying the Japanese Government's sincere desire to withdraw its troops as quickly as possible within the South Manchuria Railway zone in pursuance of the resolution of September 30."

This proposal was considered and on December 10 the Council adopted the following resolution:

(1) Re-affirms the Resolution passed unanimously on Sep- The Council,

tember 30th, whereby the two Parties declare that they are solemnly bound. It therefore calls upon the Chinese and Japanese Governments to take all steps necessary to assure its execution so that the withdrawal of Japanese troops within the railway zone may be effected as speedily as possible under the conditions set forth in the said Resolution;

(2) Considering that events have assumed an even more serious aspect since the Council meeting of October 24th, notes that the two Parties undertake to adopt all measures necessary to avoid any further aggravation of the situation and to refrain from any initiative which may lead to further fighting and loss of life;

(3) Invites the two Parties to continue to keep the Council informed as to the development of the situation;

(4) Invites other members of the Council to furnish the Council with any information received from their representatives on the spot;

(5) Without prejudice to the carrying out of the above-mentioned measures and desiring, in view of the special circumstances of the case, to contribute towards a final and fundamental solution by the two Governments of the questions at issue between them, decides to appoint a Commission of five members to study on the spot and to report to the Council on any circumstances which, affecting international relations, threaten to disturb peace between China and Japan or the good understanding between them upon which peace depends. The Governments of China and Japan will each have the right to nominate one assessor to assist the Commission. The two Governments will afford the Commission all facilities to obtain on the spot whatever information it may require. It is understood that, should the two Parties initiate any negotiations, these would not fall within the scope of the term of reference of the Commission, nor would it be within the competence of the Commission to interfere with the military arrangements of either party. The appointment and deliberations of the Commission shall not prejudice in any way the undertaking given by the Japanese Government in the resolution of September 30th as regards the withdrawal of Japanese troops within the railway zone;

(6) Between now and its next ordinary session which will be held on January 25th, 1932, the Council, which remains seized of the matter, invites the President to follow the question and to summon it afresh if necessary.

The President (the French representative, M. Briand) emphasized, when he submitted the resolution, the great importance which the Council attached to its resolution of September 30, 1931, and its conviction that the two Governments would carry out to the full the engagements which they had assumed under it. He further stated that it was indispensable and urged that the two parties should abstain from any initiative which lead to further fighting and from any other action likely to aggravate the situation.

The Government of the United States, on the adoption of the resolution of December 10, expressed its gratification that definite progress had been made.

Japanese Operations Against Chinchow. Disappearance of the Last Remains of Chinese Authority in South Manchuria

While the Council was drawing up the text of this resolution, the two parties repeatedly called its attention to the danger of military operations spreading to southwest Manchuria and efforts were made to establish a neutral zone between the Japanese troops and those of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang at Chinchow. These efforts were unsuccessful. The representative of Japan, referring at the time of its adoption to paragraph 2 of the resolution of December 10, stated that he accepted it "on the understanding that it was not intended to preclude the Japanese forces from taking such action as might be rendered necessary to provide directly for the protection of the lives and property of Japanese subjects against the activities of bandits and lawless elements rampant in various parts of Manchuria. Such action was admittedly an exceptional measure called for by the situation prevailing in Manchuria and its necessity would naturally be obviated when normal conditions should have been restored in that region."

On December 23 a Japanese offensive was launched in the direction of Chinchow, which was occupied on January 3, 1932 The Japanese forces then advanced as far as the Great Wall and established contact with the Japanese troops stationed at Shanhaikuan, to the south of the Wall. As the result of these operations, Chinese constituted authority disappeared entirely from South Manchuria.

(To be continued next week)

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Trans-Pacific Superior Class Fares Reduced

The Dollar Line to San Francisco and the American Mail Line to Seattle, in common with the other trans-Pacific Lines, announce radical reductions in superior class fares, effective March 18. On the San Francisco line the former surcharge per person for a cabin with bath of G.$58, has been reduced to G.$17, while the surcharge for larger cabins with bath of G.$115 has been reduced to G.$41. Large A-grade cabins with bath on the s.s. *Pres. Hoover* and s.s. *Pres. Coolidge* have been reduced from G.$123 to G.$67. Reductions for suites have been in proportion.

ANAEMIA AND DIGESTIVE TROUBLES.

People who are anaemic invariably suffer from digestive weakness. Anaemia results in dyspepsia because when the blood is scanty and thin the elements which compose the digestive juices are lacking. In addition, the digestive organs themselves are weakened because a plentiful supply is necessary to keep them vigorous and healthy.

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64-049

Central Committee to Handle National Airplane Fund

A systematic plan of procedure for the collection, custody and expenditure of the National Airplane Fund has been determined upon by the Executive Yuan. According to the plan, custody committees are to be organized in all districts (hsiens), municipalities and provinces, with a central committee at Nanking. Contributions are to be remitted by the district committees to the provincial committees every 45 days, the latter in turn remitting their collections to the central committee at the same intervals. The period for the solicitation of contributions is fixed for three months. It is hoped to collect sufficient funds for the purchase of 129 fighting planes. In order to encourage the contributors, suitable awards will be given for large donations. Machines purchased will be named after the districts which subscribe to their cost.

Paul Linebarger Would Apply Chinese Law in U. S. Court

A bill whereby any party to any civil action in the United States Court for China shall have the right to demand that such action be determined in accordance with the laws of the Chinese Republic, provided that petition for such right be filed and the action be in conformance with certain procedure outlined in detail has been introduced in the House of Representatives of the United States through L. C. Dyer, Congressman from Missouri, by Judge Paul Linebarger, legal advisor to the National Government of China. The bill was introduced on January 6 and was referred to the committee on the judiciary, where it is now under consideration. There is little probability of the law being passed. One of the provisions of the bill is that if the U. S. judge is not versed in Chinese law and language he may appoint a Chinese to act as translator and referee.

U.S. Trade with Far East Declines

American trade with the Far East declined sharply during 1932, according to compilations of the Department of Commerce. Officials attributed the decline to increased tariffs, fluctuating exchange rates and a reduction in buying power in Oriental countries. The exports to Oriental countries for the year totalled $321,451,000 compared with $421,578.000 in 1931. Imports in the same period totalled $357,818,000 compared with $573,632,000 in 1931. Included in the imports which resulted in an unfavorable trade balance were the cheaply made toys, dishes and small household articles made in Japan and which President Hoover contended were causing some American manufacturing plants to close.

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The National City Bank of New York, Rates of Exchange

Shanghai, March 1, 1933.

Demand selling rate on America:	U.S. $100=Sh. $488.90
Demand buying rate on America:	U.S. $100=Sh. $479.90
Demand selling rate on London:	£1.0.0=Sh. $16.78
Demand buying rate on London:	£1.0.0=Sh. $16.42

64-050

Latest New York Stock Exchange Quotations

Market—Firm — Business Done 910,000 Shares

March 1, 1933

1932-3 High	1932-3 Low	Div.$ per Sh.	STOCKS	Mon. Feb. 27	Tues. Feb. 28
9 1/2	1 5/8	—	Adams Express	3 1/4	3 1/4
89 5/8	42 1/2	*6.00	Allied Chemical & Dye	70 7/8	73 3/4
15 5/8	4	—	Allis Chalmers	6	6
78 7/8	29 5/8	4.00	American Can	49 7/8	51 3/4
15	2	—	American & Foreign Power	4	4 1/8
38 1/2	5	—	American & Foreign Power 7% Pfd.	9 1/4	9
9 1/4	1 1/2	—	American Metal Co.	Unq.	3 1/8
10	1 1/8	—	American & Foreign Power Warr.	3	3 1/4
27 1/2	5 1/2	—	American Smelting	11 3/8	11 1/4
137 3/8	70 1/4	9.00	American Telephone & Telegraph	94 1/4	97
86 3/4	40 1/2	5.00	American Tobacco "B"	52 3/4	53 1/2
34 1/2	11	1.00	American Waterworks	12	12 3/4
19 3/8	8	—	Anaconda Copper	5 1/2	5
151 3/4	28 3/4	*4.00	Auburn Automobiles	32	32
21 5/8	3 3/4	—	Baltimore & Ohio	8 1/8	9 3/8
29 5/8	7 1/4	—	Bethlehem Steel	11	11 1/4
43 1/8	19 5/8	1.60	Borden Company	18 5/8	18 1/8
14 1/4	3 3/8	—	Borg Warner	6	6
20 3/8	7 1/4	—	Canadian Pacific Railway	8 3/8	8 1/4
65 3/4	16 3/4	—	Case, J. I.	31	32 5/8
47 7/8	19	2.00	Chase National Bank	24 1/4	22 1/4
20 3/4	4 7/8	2.00	Chesapeake Corp.	16 1/4	16 1/8
21 3/4	5	1.00	Chrysler	8 1/4	9 1/4
21	4 1/4	1.00	Columbia Gas & Electric	10 5/8	11 1/4
5 1/4	1 5/8	—	Commonwealth & Southern	2	2 5/8
1	3/16	—	" " Warr.	5-16	5-16
68 3/4	31 1/2	4.00	Consolidated Gas of N. Y.	44 1/4	46 3/4
9 5/8	3 5/8	—	Continental Oil	5	5 1/8
55 5/8	24	3.00	Corn Products	45 1/2	47 7/8
7 3/8	1 1/2	—	Coty Inc.	3 1/2	3 5/8
3 1/4	7/8	—	Curtiss Wright Company	1 5/8	1 3/4
18 5/8	5	.75	Douglas Aircraft	10 3/4	11 1/4
57	23	3.00	Drug Incorporated	31 1/4	31 3/4
59 3/4	22	2.00	Du Pont de Nemours	33 1/8	34
87 7/8	35 1/4	3.00	Eastman Kodak	50 1/4	51 1/2
48	5	6%S	Electric Bond & Share	10 5/8	11 5/8
16	2 3/4	—	Electric Power & Light	3 1/2	3 5/8
5 7/8	1	—	Fox Film "A"	1 1/2	1 3/8
26 1/2	8 1/2	.40	General Electric	11 1/4	12
40 1/2	19 5/8	2.00	General Foods	21 3/8	22
24 5/8	7 5/8	1.00	General Motors	10	10
28 5/8	6 1/2	1.00	General Railway Signal	16	17
24 1/4	10 3/8	1.00	Gillette Safety Razor	18 7/8	14 3/8
20 5/8	8 1/4	1.20	Gold Dust	12	12 1/4
29 3/4	5 1/2	—	Goodyear Tire & Rubber	9 1/4	10
18 3/4	8 5/8	—	International Cement	6 1/4	6 1/2
1 7/8	1/2	—	International Com. Engine	3/8	Unq.
34 1/8	10 3/4	.60	International Harvester	14	14 1/2
12 1/2	3 1/2	—	International Nickel	6 7/8	7 1/8
15 3/4	2 5/8	—	International Telephone & Telegraph	5 1/4	5 3/8
33 3/8	10	—	Johns Manville	13	14 5/8
19 1/4	4 7/8	—	Kennecott	7 1/2	7 5/8
67 1/2	34 1/8	*4.00	Liggett & Myers, "B"	50 1/2	51 1/2
37 1/4	13 3/4	3.00	Loew's: Inc.	12	12 5/8
18 5/8	9	1.20	Lorillard P. Co. (Com.)	11	11 1/4
11 3/4	1 1/2	—	Lu lum Steel	4 1/4	4
16 1/2	3 1/2	—	Montgomery Ward	8 7/8	9 1/8
64 1/2	23 3/4	2.00	National City Bank (bid price)	28 1/2	28
36 5/8	8 3/4	—	New York Central	14	16 5/8
48 1/4	13 3/4	8%S	North American Company	17 7/8	18 3/4
37	16 7/8	2.00	Pacific Gas & Electric	25 3/8	24 1/2
5 1/4	1 1/2	—	Packard Motors	2	2 1/8
11 1/2	3/4	—	Paramount—Publix	3/4	7/8
23 3/8	6 1/2	—	Pennsylvania Railroad	14 5/8	15 1/4
4 5/8	1	—	Penroad Corporation	1 3/8	1 1/4
8 1/8	2	—	Phillips Petroleum	5 1/4	5 1/8
60	28	3.20	Public Service of N. Jersey	39 3/8	41 3/4
13 1/2	2 1/2	—	Radio Corporation	3 1/4	3
7 3/4	1 1/4	—	Radio-Keith Orpheum	1 3/8	1 1/4
40 1/2	26 1/4	3.00	Reynolds Tobacco "B"	28 1/2	28 3/4
37 3/8	9 7/8	—	Sears Roebuck	13 1/2	14 1/4
8 3/4	2 1/4	—	Shell Union	4	4 1/8
13 3/8	2 3/4	—	Simmons Company	4 5/8	4 5/8
12 1/4	5 1/4	.40	Socony-Vacuum Corp.	6 3/8	6 3/8
32 3/4	15 3/4	2.00	Southern California Edison	20 1/4	20 3/4
34 1/4	7 5/8	1.20	Standard Gas & Electric	7 7/8	8
37 3/8	19 7/8	1.00	Standard Oil Co., of N. Jersey	23 1/2	23 1/2
18 1/4	9 1/4	1.00	Texas Corporation	11	11 1/8
26 3/4	12	1.00	Texas Gulf Sulphur	15 3/4	16 5/8
7 1/8	2 1/2	—	Trans America	4 3/8	4 3/8
36 5/8	15 1/2	1.20	Union Carbide & Carbon	20 1/4	21 1/4
94 1/2	27 5/8	6.00	Union Pacific	65 3/8	68 1/2
34 3/8	6 1/2	—	United Aircraft & Trans.	16 3/4	17 5/8
14	3 1/2	.40	United Corporation	5 5/8	6 1/8
22	9 1/4	1.20	United Gas Improvement	15 7/8	16 1/4
10 1/4	1 1/4	—	U. S. Rubber	2 7/8	3 1/4
52 5/8	21 1/4	—	U. S. Steel	23 3/8	24 1/4
23 3/4	5 1/4	—	Vanadium	8 1/8	8 1/4
4 1/8	1/2	—	Warner Bros. Pictures	1	1 1/8
43 1/2	15 5/8	—	Westinghouse E. & M.	19 7/8	20 3/4
45 5/8	22	2.40	Woolworth	26 3/4	27
*Plus Extras			Call Money	1%	1%

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